Community-University Partnerships in the Neoliberal University Through an Ethics of Care and Slow Scholarship Lens

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I'd like to dedicate this to

My dad, Dave Oveson (d. 2014) - I hope you can read this from the golf course in heaven…or at least whilst you're on the bog. I hope you like it. I love you.

My aunt, Diane Leahy (d. 2021) - such a beautiful person who I miss dearly. Thank you for your love and support.

'Jack', a brilliant man and a participant in this research who very sadly and suddenly passed away in 2021 - I'm so glad I got to meet you.
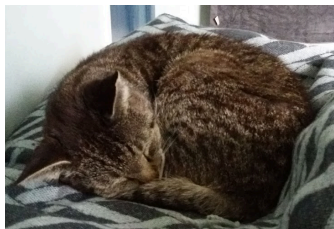
And Barnie the cat (d. 2019). Barnie lived in the Airbnb I stayed in during my visits to case study 1. He was one of the most loving, wonderful, snuggly cats I have ever met. I'll never forget you.

Note to Reader

Oh hello! Perhaps you've gathered that this is not exactly a 'typical' thesis. I just wanted to explain how and why the thesis is laid out the way it is.

Firstly, it's in landscape because I wanted to have a wider margin on one side where I could put pictures, anecdotes, quotes, etc. My dream was to do something like Reif Larsen's book, 'The Selected Works of T.S. Spivet' with sketches, maps, and extensions of ideas or reflections in this margin. Unfortunately, I didn't find a programme that let me do these more creative things, and I'm not a good drawer, so instead, there are text boxes, photos, and images dotted throughout. These are meant to highlight particularly salient quotes, or help illustrate something from the text.

Secondly, you'll notice that there are different colours used with some of the text, as well as other formatting differences like large boxes of text and different indentations. There are several reasons for these aspects - highlighting the voices of resident and academic participants is one of the aims of this thesis, therefore in addition to privileging and including them throughout the thesis, they are also different colours to the rest of the text to help them stand out.

Over the course of doing the PhD, I realised that I was really struggling with various aspects of the work - especially reading, comprehending, and retaining academic articles with their very dense layout (and all black and white text) and often complicated language, as well as organising my own thoughts. I eventually received a diagnosis of an SpLd and ADHD and learned more about how my brain works (I wish I would have known this decades ago!). This thesis reflects how I have to structure things to better understand them, as well as my attempt at making this big bunch of words more readable to all, through the use of different formatting to help make things stand out, as well as using what I hope is clear and straightforward language.

Purple text = Case Study 1 resident participants
Blue text = Case Study 1 university participants
Pink text = Case Study 2 resident and academic participants

Abstract

There is an established body of higher education (HE) literature on the different purposes of universities (Boyer 1996; Harkavy 2006) and the current context and impacts of neoliberalisation on the academy (Giroux 2002; Fisher 2009; Hill 2016). There is also significant research on engaged scholarship and community-university partnerships (CUPs) (Hart et al. 2013; Beaulieu et al. 2018). However, the role and concepts of care, emotions, and emotional labour, as well as the voices of the participants, are largely absent from both sets of literature. There is, however, a growing body of feminist literature interrogating the impacts of the current HE context on academics from an Ethic of Care (EoC) and Slow Scholarship (SS) lens (Tronto 1993; Mountz et al. 2015; Puawai Collective 2019; Evans 2016). However, here too there is a gap in terms of the majority of this literature not focussing on the role that care and emotion play in CUPs and how they are experienced. My research is both located in and framed by this intersection of the three literatures and combines an ethnographic approach with traditional methods including interviews. Applying an EoC and SS lens and highlighting the voices of resident and academic participants, the findings from two UK case study sites suggest that participants benefit most from the relational aspects of CUPs and that CUPs have the potential to be transformative. Contributing to critiques of the neoliberal university and contrary to the current civic and impact rhetoric, this research argues that HE's audit and temporal cultures and structures are 'care-less' and: incompatible with the practical, and more importantly, the essential relational and temporal aspects of long-term, participatory, relationship-based CUPs; can lead to embodied impacts for some engaged academics; disincentivise potential engaged academics; and also disproportionately negatively impact those already doing slow, relationship-based work in and with local communities.

Table of Contents

List of Frequently Used Acronyms

BU = Blue University (CS2)

CS = case study

CR = community researcher

CUE = community-university engagement

CUP = community-university partnership

ES = engaged scholarship

EoC = ethics of care

PU = Pink University (CS1)

RP = resident participant

SPARS = Sparrow Researchers (CS2)

SS = slow scholarship

TP = Team Pink (CS1)

List of Screenshots and Tables

Declaration

I, the author, confirm that the Thesis is my own work. I am aware of the University's Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means). This work has not been previously presented for an award at this, or any other, university.

1. Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1. My Story and How I Came to This Topic

Following my Master's degree in Human Geography on Social and Spatial Inequalities I got a job as a community development worker on the other side of the city in a particularly 'notorious' estate in Sheffield which had in the 1990s, been dubbed 'the worst estate in Britain' by an MP[1] due to the violence, arson, and anti-social behaviour there. Of course, the situation was much more complex than headlines made it out to be, often excluding the things that preceded and caused the Manor's decline - decades of disinvestment, the closing of the steel industry and the resulting mass unemployment, and a simultaneous reduction in local services. Things had changed to some extent by the time I showed up, although the reputation still lingered.

To get to work I took the bus from the leafy side of Sheffield where I lived and had studied, watching the scenery change as it crossed the city centre and eventually made its way up into large estates I had never visited before. I saw fewer parks, more litter, fewer local shops, pubs, and bars, no university students, and a general look of 'unkempt-ness'. On my journey, I saw sadness, frustration, anger, apathy, and at times misery on some people's faces. I also saw joy and kindness, but this seemed to happen less often.

When I began working on the Manor, the way I talked and presented myself or confronted issues set me apart from local residents (for reasons that will be explored further in Chapter 3). The real-world problems I was suddenly faced with weren't 'solvable' from what I had learned at university where we had focused on the inequalities across place and how to map these, but not how to address them. This left me feeling frustrated with my studies in that even with a Master's degree, I felt ill-equipped to help people in real terms.

Upon reflection, my course had also felt hypothetical and distant - even though we discussed inequalities at local levels, generally this was in the form of statistics, survey data, and maps. It wasn't until after I finished my Master's degree and I began working on the Manor that I

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[1] See https://municipaldreams.wordpress.com/2014/11/18/the-manor-estate-sheffield/ for more information

realised how disconnected my course had been from the reality that was just outside our front doors. Why was no one interested in the stories of these people I was getting to know and working with? Why did my master's course never once connect with, collaborate, and learn with and from these local people with lived experience and expertise of the inequalities we had been studying? Why weren't the resources, knowledge, and expertise of the university being shared with the local community to support them in addressing the challenges they faced?

It was following working on this estate that I then trained to be a community organiser. In my multiple jobs in different communities labelled 'deprived' across Sheffield, I distinctly remember wondering why the university wasn't somehow present in these spaces. This led to seeking out a connection with the university and my eventual involvement with the University of Sheffield (UoS) on a community-university partnership (CUP) in the Urban Studies and Planning (USP) department that was attempting to do just that.

The first year was a mixture of trying to apply the skills and methods I had learned in the community organising programme, with the reality of working within university structures. My role in this CUP was to support the two lead academics as a university-based project coordinator. I worked with students and local residents on projects that were intended to be mutually beneficial.

I learned a lot from the two lead academics who were passionate about not just the idea of the civic university, but actually enacting it - both of which were revelations to me. Before this project I had begun to realise that there was something wrong in the disconnect between the university and its local communities, but I hadn't had a framework that could help me understand it. This job and my colleagues introduced me to different understandings of what and who a university was for, challenging me to look more critically at higher education and its place in its locality. It also gave me a different perspective of universities as a member of staff instead of a student. It was strange attending departmental meetings and seeing the 'behind the scenes' stuff you never think about when you're a student. It was also depressing at times to see what was valued by the department and how this often did not reflect the approach, focus, or outcomes of our engaged learning community-based project. I also observed how my colleagues became increasingly stressed and snowed under with their workloads and our project which was time-intensive.

After having worked in the university and in the community, I realised that the way in which the CUP was spoken about by my department, sounded very different to how I and the lead academics had experienced the project. In big meetings or at events, our project would often be

heralded as an example of the department's great work with and commitment to the community, but I had observed their reticence to support and resource the project and its activities, as well as their lack of recognition and valuation of the work done by the two lead academics. It also became clear that how the residents had experienced the project didn't form part of the department's story beyond saying 'we [the department] have been working with the community'. What I mean is that there was no attempt made to seek, or include the voices of the residents who had been involved.

These experiences led me to wonder about the relationship between universities and communities and more specifically, how other community-university projects were experienced by those involved - forming the starting point of my PhD research.

1.2. What is This Thesis About? A Snapshot of the UK's Higher Education Landscape

The Big Picture

Influenced by neoliberalisation, current social crises, and the emerging civic agenda, the landscape of contemporary Higher Education (HE) in the UK is undergoing significant changes at the institutional, individual, and societal levels. This short section sets the scene, giving a broad overview of the key trends in HE in order to help situate the reader before diving into these trends and the focus of this thesis in later chapters.

At the institutional level, the neoliberalisation of HE is a trend marked by an increasing emphasis on market and profit driven principles, and dominated by increased managerialism, audit cultures, fast scholarship, as well as increased competition for students, research grants, prestige, etc.. As part of this trend, the funding of universities has gradually shifted from being publicly funded through block grants, to a more 'diversified' model, including the introduction of tuition fees in 1998, and the subsequent controversial increase in 2012. An article in Screenshot 1 reflects the perspective of a striking academic who highlights one of the consequences of the neoliberal turn and subsequent privatisation of HE. The focus on income generation and research outputs has heightened competition both within and between universities, leading to the rising importance of measuring performance at the institutional and individual levels, often through metrics like the Research Excellence Framework (REF).

These changes have had many implications, including academic working conditions with more emphasis on 'publish

Menu   **THE CONVERSATION**   Sign in
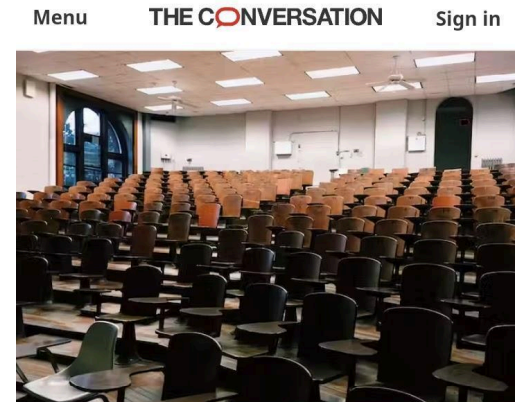
Pexels

Capitalist creep on campus: the largest, quietest privatisation in UK history – it's why we're striking

Published: November 26, 2019 4.45am GMT

Martin Parker, *University of Bristol*

Screenshot 1. 2019 article from The Conversation

or perish' cultures. Screenshot 2 highlights a growing and worrying trend of increasing illness due to stress - what the news article calls a 'mental health crisis' amongst academic staff - linking this to their heavy workloads. Adding to these stresses are insecure and often short-term academic staff contracts, as well as a working environment that makes working collegiately difficult due to the competitive environment.

Of course changes in HE don't happen in a vacuum - the wider societal context impacts and interacts with the academy and its trends. Indeed, universities have experienced a lot of changes and challenges (as suggested above), as well as some soul-searching at the institutional and individual academic levels. Recent changes to the academy (some are highlighted above) together with recent societal crises including - Covid, the war in Ukraine, Brexit, decades of austerity and increased levels of social inequality, and the cost of living crisis - have resulted in universities, and perhaps more importantly, society as a whole, to question and debate who and what publicly funded universities are for.

In response to this pressure together with the increased tuition fees, increasing social inequality, and a shrinking public purse, universities are having to demonstrate their value and relevance to society in order to garner public support and funding. Some suggest that this has led to the re-emergence of the civic university and new discourses of engagement, including the impact and engagement agenda. Screenshot

The Guardian

News | Opinion | Sport | Culture | Lifestyle

Education ▶ Schools Teachers Universities More

Analysing the purpose and value of universities

Readers debate course structure, tuition fees, mental health, the importance of arts and humanities, and the need to work for a common good
Letters

Fri 31 May 2019 17.03 BST

61
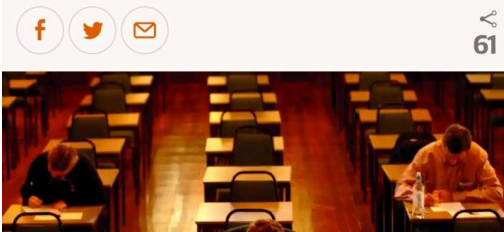
Screenshot 3. 2019 Guardian news article

Mental health: a university crisis

This article is more than **5 years old**

Overworked and isolated - work pressure fuels mental illness in academia

Exclusive: Guardian survey shows heavy workloads to blame for mental health problems among academics

● **We don't want anyone to know, say depressed academics**
● **View the findings in full: a survey of mental health in academia**

Claire Shaw

@clurshaw Email
Thu 8 May 2014 07.30 BST

Screenshot 2. 2014 Guardian news article

4 illustrates one way in which this shift towards the civic can be seen - through the establishment of the Civic University Commission (and later, the Civic University Network). The civic agenda encourages universities to play a more active role in their communities through initiatives such as community outreach, public engagement, knowledge exchange, and many more. Another way in which universities are enacting this agenda - and what this thesis focuses on - is through community-university partnerships (CUPs).

The current trends in UK HE represent a complex interplay between neoliberalism, market-driven principles, and a civic agenda that is attempting to expand the role and local impact of universities. This thesis will explore this interplay and the impacts the resulting HE structures and cultures have on CUPs and the residents and academics who are involved.

For a visual overview of this thesis including screengrabs of news article headlines illustrating the current context, as well as text boxes on background and the focus of this research (including the methods, conceptual lens, and the key terms), see Appendix 1.

Menu

Call for £500 million fund to boost UK universities' civic role

Dozens of universities are already interested in striking 'civic university agreements' proposed by commission

February 12, 2019

By John Morgan

Twitter: @johncmorgan3

Screenshot 4. 2019 Times Higher Education article

1.3. Thesis Chapters Summary

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 1 begins with a story that introduces the reader to the author and how I came to this topic. The chapter then situates this work on community-university partnerships (CUPs) by giving a brief overview of the HE landscape at the societal, institutional, and individual academic levels through a series of text boxes and snapshots from news articles that highlight debates on what and who universities are for, the revival (of sorts) of the civic university, and the working conditions and current 'mental health crisis' amongst academic staff. Using text boxes the chapter also briefly outlines the focus of the research, key terms, the methods used, and the conceptual lens. This is to give a flavour of what is to come in terms of both writing style (for example the use of stories), and the topic at hand.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 2 summarises the history of universities and their evolving purpose(s). Engaging with literature on higher education, community-university engagement, and ethics of care and slow scholarship from multiple fields including higher education studies, critical geography, and feminist scholarship, the chapter reviews the literature on the contemporary university and critiques of the shift toward what many have called the 'neoliberalisation' of the university. Recent discourses of engagement are then introduced followed by a section on CUPs, paying special attention to how care, relationships, and the voices of participants are situated. The last main section draws largely from critical feminist scholarship and introduces the lens and conceptual framework of this thesis - ethics of care (EoC) and slow scholarship (SS). Providing a rationale for this research, the review highlights gaps in the HE (the central role of relationships, care and emotion is largely missing), CUP (the role of the relational, emotional labour, and temporal aspects - especially related to

the relational - involved in CUPs are largely missing), and EoC/SS (doesn't look specifically at CUPs or the lived experiences of engaged academics) literature.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

Chapter 3 describes my methodological approach delving deeper into my positionality, feminist epistemology, and the importance placed on reflexivity, and how they influenced and shaped this study. The chapter then outlines my research strategy followed by an overview of the research I conducted, the methods used, methodological challenges, and a conclusion. This chapter not only presents the what, how, and why - it also begins to bring to the fore the messy, embodied, and emotionally connected nature of this study.

Chapter 4: Case Study 1

The first empirical chapter explores the intersection between the lived experiences of the CUP participants in Team Pink (TP), one of Pink University's (PU) civic strategy flagship projects, and the HE structures and cultures within which they sit. It describes where the project came from, what it does and why, and with whom, and then highlights the stories of some key resident and university participants with lived experiences of these projects. Contributing to the CUP literature, this chapter highlights; how having a staff team enables the sharing of both the practical and emotional load; and that the slow, long-term, place-based approach taken by TP appears to have been key in the ensuing development of relationships, trust, and participation both within, and outside of the university. Whilst PU has leadership and strategic support and resources, as well as recognition internally and externally, this chapter brings to light the continuing challenges still experienced by the key actors against a backdrop of metrics-based university drivers.

Chapter 5: Case Study 2

Chapter 5 presents Blue University (BU) - a university without a civic strategy, but with a strong rhetoric about their impact and engagement, and focuses on a community-researcher project and its lead academic. Like in Case Study 1, this chapter summarises the project- the what, why, who, and then explores the experiences of the participants in more detail within the context of the neoliberal university. This case study extends the CUP literature by highlighting the importance of the relational aspects, the blurring of the professional/personal 'boundary' between the academic and resident participants, the emotional labour involved, and the potential for transformational impacts for CUP participants. The chapter illustrates how HE structures and cultures at BU don't understand and under-value the relational and temporal aspects of CUPs, how this has contributed to negative embodied impacts for the lead academic, and how this reality is in stark contrast with BU's civic rhetoric.

Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion Chapter

Chapter 6 compares and contrasts the findings across both case studies highlighting the benefits experienced - the relational aspects, new learning, and feeling valued, as well as the common challenges - some visible (e.g. lack of time, funding, recruitment, accessibility, university systems, mutual benefit), and some hidden (pressure felt by key individuals, difficult life circumstances for some participants, interpersonal strife, emotional labour, and embodied impacts). HE structures and cultures that enabled the CUPs include a variety of things including sufficient resourcing, promotion criteria, more flexible work allocation models (WAMs), having a staff team, and perhaps most importantly - being able to take a long-term, slow approach. The main hindering structures cited are HE's temporal culture and WAMs, the REF, and

funding. An in-depth discussion on three key themes: relationships, care, and emotions; time; and HE cultures and structures, follows. I argue that current neoliberal work and temporal cultures together with HE's (mis)understanding and under-valuing of the relational and temporal aspects of CUPs can lead to negative impacts on the CUPS and those involved, including embodied impacts and a complete work-life imbalance for the engaged academic.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The thesis concludes with a summary of the key findings followed by a discussion on what this represents in the wider context, including the ways in which this research has made contributions to knowledge. I then put forward a recommendation for what I call, Radically Caring Engaged Scholarship. This is followed by the limitations of this study, and where I think future research would be beneficial, ending with some final thoughts.

As you read this thesis you will explore the social purpose of universities and hear from those with first-hand experiences of CUPs, alighting at various points along the literary journey - for example, stop 1 - what is known about the topic and what might be missing, stop 2 - who is this author and how did she conduct this investigation, and so on. The journey will conclude with what I argue is needed if universities want to not just talk the talk of being 'civic', but actually walk the talk - a 'radically caring engaged scholarship'.

This thesis engages with debates on what and who universities are for (public or individual benefit), what 'counts' (local vs global, publish or perish, etc.), and what/who is valued in UK universities, as well as ideas around the civic university, engaging with the local community, and care in the academy. I seek to progress and contribute to these debates, as well as

to the literature by highlighting the voices of CUP participants, bringing attention to the under-researched and under-valued relational and time-intensive aspects of CUPs and how at odds this is within the current neoliberal structures and cultures in the contemporary university.

This research asks:

1. How are CUPs experienced by the participants?

2. How do HE structures and cultures enable and hinder the collective and individual relationships and practices in CUPs?

2. Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1. Introduction and Organisation of This Chapter

This chapter outlines the key debates, concepts, and critiques pertaining to the focus of this thesis. It is divided into five sections. The first section gives a brief overview of the historical foundations of European universities and the evolution of their role, purpose, and relationship with their local communities. The second section outlines the current HE landscape of the contemporary university and looks at: the key debates around what and who universities are for; their defining characteristics; the impacts of HE structures and cultures on universities and academics; and the various discourses of engagement and how they relate to this thesis. Section three explores the literature on community-university partnerships (CUPs), their benefits and challenges, and how they fit within institutional frameworks. The penultimate section introduces my conceptual framework with a discussion on the ethics of care (EoC) and slow scholarship (SS) concepts, outlining the ways in which they are a useful lens from which to analyse CUPs within the context of the contemporary university, as well as highlighting alternative visions of how universities could function, and the limitations and critiques of these concepts. The conclusion includes summaries of each of the key sections of the literature review, followed by the gaps that have been identified and ending on my research questions.

2.2. (A brief) History of the University and its Shifting Role

Established in the 11th and 12th centuries in Bologna, Paris and Oxford, the earliest universities in Europe were religious foundations (Collini 2012) that were essentially finishing schools designed to reproduce elite culture and train sons to be

either in the church or to work for the State (Holmwood 2016). Early universities were predominantly teaching institutions focused on law, philosophy, and religion and were not concerned with the advancement of science or scholarship or whether the knowledge that was produced there could or should be of use or benefit to their local communities.

Fast-forwarding seven hundred years, we arrive at the 'Modern' university which began in Germany with the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810 by Wilhelm Von Humboldt. At this time, universities started to be seen as "centres for higher learning" (Collini 2012, p. 23) and they began putting more emphasis on research and the sciences (Scott 2006). Early tensions between communities of scholars historically withdrawn from society, and the 'other' obligation to serve local social needs became apparent in the Humboldt Model and now form part of the town-gown debate (Martin et al. 2005).

Photo 1. University of Sheffield pamphlets from UoS archive

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, we see another shift in higher education with the establishment of civic universities in England's major cities in response to the industrial revolution, the vote, and greater religious freedom (Brink 2018). These new 'Red Brick' universities were founded largely in industrial cities and derived their purpose from meeting the needs of those industries and of their locale. For example, in Sheffield, the university focused on teaching future teachers, developing innovations that would help keep Sheffield's industries competitive in the growing market, and curing illnesses and diseases affecting its people. The University of Sheffield's first bullet point on its 1904 pamphlets (see photo 2 of the actual pamphlet taken in the UoS archives) encouraged local people to contribute to its construction because "the University will be for the people". These new universities represented a different model for what and who

Photo 2. University of Sheffield pamphlet from UoS archive

HE was for, moving away from the focus on classical studies for the elite, to opening its doors to (some of its) local people, explicitly highlighting their connection to and aim of benefiting their city and its people. However, Vallance (2016) states that not long after their establishment, these new highly connected universities began to be incorporated into increasingly "regulated higher education systems" and that this resulted in a "diminishment of their early civic missions, as research and teaching goals defined primarily at the national level came to be prioritised" (p. 20). Over the next hundred years, these institutions evolved and became the research-intensive universities that we see today.

By the 1980s, things had changed and tensions between town and gown in the US and UK were reaching high levels. This increased tension was impacted by the economic crisis of the 1980s that affected both the US and the UK, shaping the demographics of urban areas, but not necessarily affecting the universities in the same way. Therefore as many universities continued to prosper, their host cities often continued to decline (Steer and Davoudi 2021). Examples of this growing disparity between 'town' and 'gown' were particularly evident in the US, for example how Yale University and North-Western University were perceived by local residents who saw them as "large, powerful, non-taxpaying entities that soak up city services and provide little in return" (Kysiak 1986, p. 50). This time period also saw the globalisation of HE as well as a growing importance placed on competing for funding and student numbers, and the introduction of new public management approaches into things like performance measures and university rankings (Todd et al. 2021).

What this new marketised 'neoliberal' landscape looked like will be discussed in greater detail in the following section but it is referenced here because it represents both the peak of the decline, as well as the beginning of the third phase in the civic university movement (Vallance 2016). According to Benson, Harkavy, and Puckett (2007) - several leading American

engaged academics - the huge gap between the wealth, power, and status held by American elite research institutions and the many American cities that held none of the above was a "troubling, indefensible, immoral" contradiction that sparked the "emergence of the truly (not simply rhetorical) engaged university [in the US]" (p. 44). In response to this growing divide, the 1990s saw some US universities begin shifting toward working *with* their local communities instead of building higher walls to keep them out (Harkavy 2006; Mosier 2015; O'Mara 2012). Boyer's influential 'Scholarship of Engagement' called for (US) universities to be, "developing solutions to the nation's most pressing civic, social, economic, and moral problems" rather than being viewed as a place where "students get credentialed and faculty get tenured" (1996, p. 14). Ten years after Boyer's call, University of Pennsylvania Professor Ira Harkavy (2006) took Dewey's (1954) proposition of starting at home and began focusing on universal problems that manifested locally like hunger, housing, poverty, health care, etc., in order to most effectively fulfil the civic duty of his university by working toward solving these local problems that are experienced globally. In the UK the 'rediscovery' or 'revival' of the civic university was slower to come about, but John Goddard's provocation arguing for the "reinvention of the civic university in which engagement is an institution-wide commitment" (2009, p. 4) alongside other influential work pointed to a growing call and desire for more engaged universities.

The relationship between universities and their cities (or towns) in the UK (and the US) has continually changed and been impacted by the growth of universities in the last few decades, often becoming one of the largest employers in their cities, as well as the thousands of students being attracted to come to study and live in these places. As we can see, the role and purpose of the contemporary university, including its civic mission and social purpose, continues to change and be debated today - debates that will be briefly explored in the following section.

> (US) **Universities should** be **"developing solutions** to the nation's **most pressing civic, social, economic,** and **moral problems"**…**not** just a place where **"students get credentialed** and **faculty** get **tenured"**
>
> (Boyer 1996, p. 14)

2.3. Current HE Landscape - The Contemporary University

2.3.1. The structure and function of the university

There is an increasing debate in the literature around the purpose and value of universities in today's society (some of which will be discussed below). Are universities only responsible for teaching and research, or are there other purposes? As highlighted above, the structure and function of the (European) university has ebbed and flowed over its 900-year history from being mostly teaching and humanities-focused institutions for a significant part of its history, to eventually valuing and conducting scientific research, and later, expanding their role and incorporating a civic mission in the new civic universities.

The contemporary university has been influenced by its history and continues to change, adapt, and (re)define itself as a result. Indeed, a recent influencing factor has been the rise of the Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) agenda and its impacts on the working practices in HE. Seeking to create more equitable and inclusive working and learning environments (something that feminists and activists have been fighting for for decades), this dynamic and important agenda has led to some HEIs making changes including to their hiring practices, curriculum, training and awareness programmes, research priorities, institutional policies, and to engaging local communities on issues relating to equity - a focus closely linked to the civic agenda. Whilst the EDI agenda has prompted important conversations and symbolic commitments, it has also been suggested that translating the rhetoric into tangible meaningful change often falls short and that there remains a gap between the aspirational language of inclusion, and the actual implementation of policies that challenge deep-rooted systemic biases (Koutsouris et al. 2022; Roberts 2021). Genuine transformation demands a

concerted effort to confront and dismantle institutional structures that perpetuate disparities, recognising that addressing gender, class, and racial inequalities requires more than just surface-level gestures. The challenge lies in navigating beyond performative initiatives to enact substantive, enduring changes that reshape the very fabric of higher education, fostering an environment that truly champions equity for all.

However, perhaps the most impactful drivers of change in more recent times have been the influence of new managerialism, marketisation, and globalisation (Radice 2013; Vallance 2016). Indeed, there is a lot of literature on the structure and role of the contemporary university - much of it referring to these newer developments using the somewhat contested term - the 'neoliberalisation' of the university (e.g. Giroux 2002; Vallance 2016; Bergland 2018; and many more). Giroux (2002) argued that the neoliberal turn in the academy (which will be described in more detail further down) is damaging and changing the purpose of HE through its corporatisation, including how the civic discourse is being corporatised with citizenship now portrayed as a privatised affair aimed at individual self-interest. Morley (2014) sums up a key debate stating that many see HE as serving the private good (mainly benefiting graduates), instead of the public good. There is considerable literature critiquing the direction of the contemporary university highlighting its impacts on what and who the university is now for. Giroux (2002) warned that "the new corporate university values profits, control, and efficiency, all hallmark values of the neoliberal corporate ethic" (p. 434). The titles of several recent books highlight this focus and give a sense of the urgency some of these authors feel - for example, *The Soul of a University, why excellence is not enough* (Brink 2018), *Speaking of Universities* (Collini 2017), *Who are Universities For? Remaking higher education* (Sperlinger et al. 2018), to name a few. Ethics of Care (EoC) and Slow Scholarship (SS) literature have also put forward feminist critiques of the neoliberal university, especially in terms of the impacts on academics themselves -

literature that will be explored later in this chapter. There is also a growing body of literature about the more recent shift back towards 'the civic' and HE's corresponding rhetoric and practice - something that will also be analysed further down.

Debates between the 'neoliberal' market-driven model and the 'civic' purpose-driven model of universities abound, however, there are also many debates *within* each of these 'models' and the reality is that on the ground, universities do not reflect one model in its entirety or the other because there is not one agreed shared definition of either and institutions are likely to be influenced by aspects of both models instead of representing one or the other. The following section will set the scene by briefly outlining the characteristics of the contemporary university before moving on to the discourses of engagement in order to situate the landscape in which CUPs now sit.

2.3.2. Characteristics of the contemporary university

Neoliberalism is a complex idea that has been heavily researched but can be understood at a base level in terms of its five processes of change - (i) privatisation, (ii) deregulation, (iii) financialisation, (iv) globalisation and (v) the belief that both organisational and individual problems can be solved by competitive markets (Patomaki 2009). Under neoliberalism, knowledge became a marketable commodity instead of something that came out of a collaborative endeavour (Jary and Parker 1998; Levidow 2000). In the context of the public sector and HE, these changes took the form of 'new managerialism' or 'new public management' (NPM) approaches whereby the values, structures, and processes of the private sector were injected into the public sector (Radice 2013, p. 408). The contemporary university, or 'neoliberal university', as it is often referred to in literature, is characterised by (among many things) its: free-market ideology; new public management (NPM); students seen as customers and universities as providers; the decline of public spending on

research and teaching which then led to an emphasis on personal gain, commodification, and commercialisation; the disconnecting of HE from the concept of a public good; precarious working conditions for many; less time for higher workloads; restrictions on resources; and increased performance targets and bureaucracy (Fisher 2009; Giroux 2019; Hill 2016; Mountz et al. 2015). Some of these characteristics are of particular importance for this research in how they relate to CUPs, therefore they will be expanded upon below.

New Public Management (NPM) and the audit and temporal cultures

Heavily intertwined and connected key concepts, structures or cultures related to NPM appear to have substantially impacted HE as well as the landscape for CUPs and civic engagement. For example, the 'audit culture' and its use of metrics in the form of rankings, league tables, and the Research Excellence Framework - REF (which is discussed below), have contributed to heated debates about what 'counts' in the contemporary university, as well as how some of these audit mechanisms (like the REF) - originally evaluating the performance of an institution as a whole - are now also being used as instruments for individual performance management (Morrish 2019). Set within neoliberal conceptualisations of time, which in simple terms could be understood as needing to do increasingly more in diminishing amounts of time (Mountz et al. 2015) - these metrics and accounting measures also influence work allocation, promotion structures, and funding environments - all of which will be discussed below.

The rhetoric states that audit/counting culture is about "quality improvement", however, the literature suggests that in reality, it fuels individualism and competition and that in actuality, it "informs our identities and interactions, and leads to institutional shaming, subject-making, and self-surveillance" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1243). This culture has been found to

lead people to 'self-audit' instead of exchanging, listening, and learning with and from others in meaningful ways that are time-consuming, but also helpful for research and engagement outside of the academy (Pain 2014; Schulte 2014).

Rankings and league tables

Globalisation and the opening of the HE market have led to an increase in competition for students and investment. In the early 2000s, rankings and league tables began appearing, the most well-known being the Times Higher Education ranking list. These rankings and tables have become increasingly valued and used as a means of demonstrating a university's 'value' in order to attract students, staff, funding, and investment. But they have done much more than that. Lynch argues that "rankings are reconstituting the academy, for both academics and students [and] they are a new mode of external governance through which market values are reframing the social relations of education" (2013, p. 141). Brink's 2018 book on the role of universities echoes this, stating that these measures of accountability have impacted how we view what universities are for, how we understand 'quality', and how universities see themselves (p. 56). Globalisation and the marketisation of universities have put pressure on them to position themselves favourably in the world market, hence the common rhetoric on university webpages and mission statements highlighting their 'world-leading', 'world-class', or 'world-ranking' research and teaching in their 'global' institution (Vallance 2016). Bok (2003) argues that following the marketisation of HE, universities have become more uniform, more risk-averse, and highly focused on rankings and league tables. Watson (2008) and Scott (2014) argued that this focus on prioritising the 'global' represents a challenge for activities that are local and community-focused, highlighting the tension between the current HE environment and the re-emerged civic and impact missions and rhetoric.

REF

Arguably very influential for UK universities and contributing to the emphasis on the 'global' and another example of the audit culture and performance management, is the Research Excellence Framework or REF (formerly RAE - Research Assessment Exercise). The wider debate surrounding it is complex and falls outside the scope of this research, however, the REF will be briefly discussed here in order to inform this research and discussions in future chapters.

The REF is a mechanism for assessing the research being done across UK universities which Martin (2011), argues stems in part from needing to be more publicly accountable. The REF uses a 0 - 4* rating system (none of which focus on local excellence) to measure the three areas of assessment that together, make up a university's research performance 'score'; research outputs (e.g. publications, performances, and exhibitions) - 60% (was 65% in the 2014 REF), research environment (15%), and the newer measure - impact (in the form of Impact Case Studies), which now accounts for 25% of the score. This score is then used as a basis for decisions on how government funding will be distributed (REF 2018a). According to the REF's own webpage (REF 2021a), its purpose is not only to inform funding decisions, it is also aimed at providing accountability and producing evidence of the benefits of the public investment, as well as providing a benchmark that is then used to "establish reputational yardsticks". Of note is that only 4* and 3* outputs or impact case studies count towards funding, meaning that universities value these most, often driving their staff towards producing outputs and impacts at these levels (McNamara and Fox 2020). Like other externally imposed quality assurance or control systems, the REF is closely tied to career advancement in how it is used to inform promotion and hiring decisions in many universities (Sayer 2015; Strathern 2020).

Of particular importance to this thesis (reasons which will be discussed in future chapters) is what 'counts' as an output and how 'impact' is defined. According to the Guide to the REF Results (REF 2021b), outputs are assessed based on their originality, significance, and rigour and have to be published or publicly available and can take many forms including journal articles, books, practice research outputs, patents, digital or visual media, among other things. Impact in the 2021 REF is defined as, "the effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia", and is assessed based on reach and significance as well as the approach to enabling impact (REF 2021b). Whilst the output and impact criteria appear broad, Murray's 2018 research suggests that a major barrier with the REF is actually how it is being (mis)interpreted at the local level - therefore, 'REF myths', as Murray defines them (2018, p. 194), about what constitutes 'proper' outputs or 'acceptable' forms of engagement, for example, can be disconnected from the actual REF guidelines and/or process.

There are many critiques of the REF, for example, Murray (2018) warned that the REF does much more than 'what is on the tin' - it "begins to organise people's understandings of how academia works and what is valued" (p. 208). Others have argued that the REF, like other 'quality' or performance evaluation systems, is shifting and shaping people's behaviours and changing the direction of research and outputs by focussing on certain representations or aspects that meet performance indicators more than their content (McNamara and Fox 2020). Still, others have argued that the REF constitutes "an infringement to a scholarly way of life" and that it is "fundamentally incompatible and deleterious to the production of new knowledge" (Watermeyer 2016, p. 199).

Work Allocation Models (WAMs), annual reviews, promotions, what 'counts', and time

As has been alluded to above, there is a significant focus in the literature on the neoliberalisation of the university. Impacts from and critiques of these changes have come especially from the Ethics of Care (EoC) and Slow Scholarship literature and will be touched on here, but explored in more detail later in the chapter.

Impacted by neoliberal temporal regimes (which will be expanded upon later in the chapter) and illustrating another form of an accounting measure, work allocation models (WAMs) illustrate a defining characteristic of the contemporary university - the ever-increasing demands placed on academic staff within diminishing amounts of time (Berg et al. 2016; Mountz et al. 2015; Moorish 2019). WAMs identify which categories are included - for example, teaching, research, supervision, marking, etc., and then allocate time for the different responsibilities academics have under each of these categories, providing a framework in which academics must fit their work. Morrish (2019) found that excessive workloads and workload models "frequently under-count time necessary for fulfilling tasks, and many tasks prove invisible to the workload assessors" (p. 10), highlighting some challenges with the system, as well as bringing to the fore questions around what 'counts' enough to be included as a category or allocated 'task', and how much time it is allocated.

Closely related to WAMs are annual review and promotion processes. In the collectively written Mountz et al. (2015) article one of the authors reflects on her experience of her institution's annual review process, shedding light on some of the broader issues related to accounting regimes. She explains how she had to try to fit the narrative of what she was and wasn't able to do in her teaching, research, and writing during the past year into her institution's platform which divides activities into different compartments and asks the academic to indicate how many hours they spent on each activity in the entire year. She reflects on how frustrating, difficult, unhelpful, and inaccurate this neoliberal metric-based accounting

"If something can't be counted, then it doesn't count"

(Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1240).

regime is and illustrates how if something can't be 'counted' (or, for example, you simply don't know exactly how many hours you spent advising a graduate student to the completion of their thesis), then it 'doesn't count' (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1240). Echoing these sentiments, other articles add that the short-term outcomes and expectations linked to performance are "often unattainable for many" (Morrish 2019, p. 10), and that 'productivity' is most often measured using a narrow definition (Park et al. 2017). Adding to these restrictive dimensions, Cook-Sather and Shore (2007) argued that initiatives and work that conformed to neoliberal logic tended to be acknowledged or rewarded over diverging options.

These tensions highlight questions around productivity and how 'success' and 'failure' are conceptualised in the contemporary university. Pointing to what appears to 'count' as 'success' in some HEIs, some have argued that academics are often "encouraged to produce fast scholarship and tailor their research to corporatised and state interests in order to bring in monetary gains for universities competing for student consumers" (Wood et al. 2020, p. 429). Berg et al. (2016) speak to this arguing that neoliberalism constitutes the categories of 'winner' and 'loser', as well as increasing their relevance in the contemporary university stating:

> Some people were very successful in the [older] liberal academy, whilst others were not as successful, but they were usually not constituted as 'losers'. Under neoliberalism, it is now very clear who the losers are: they are the ones who never get tenured or permanent jobs, they are the ones who get fired for lack of 'productivity' in a system of constant surveillance and measurement of academic 'production' (p.172)

Related to performance reviews, 'productivity', and competition, is the frequently referred to 'publish or perish' logic whereby some argue that quantity is a marker of 'success' and more important than quality (Dickson 2020). Morley (2005) warns of the dangers of valuing performance and productivity over intellectualism arguing that academics are now

accountable to external auditors instead of to their discipline or profession, adding that "academics are now valued for the contribution that they make to their organisation's performance, rather than to their professional or intellectual communities" (p. 3). Critiquing these performance and accounting methods, other feminist scholars have asked, "what if we counted differently?", arguing for a shift from the current competitive, individualised, individualising, and hidden annual reviews, to a "collective and community-building, activist, and transparent process" in which what 'counts' is broadened past products (including outputs) and profits (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1243).

Financial culture

Another impact of the neoliberalisation of the university can be seen in the terms and models being used, for example, profit and loss, full costings, and 'value for money'. Many academic departments (or schools) have shifted from focusing mainly on academic goals to being 'cost centres' that manage their finances and have to make sure that they cover their own costs, as well as their share of the central university costs- this has led to everything needing to be 'fully costed' (Radice 2013). Mountz et al. (2015) gave the example of this accounting stating that some academics are asked to translate small grants or things like a sabbatical "into products that 'count'" (p. 1244), often taking up large amounts of time and presenting challenges in terms of how and what one quantifies as 'counting'. Needing to account for everything in advance, for example in things like research funding proposals, poses a challenge to participatory research or for academics seeking to pursue (or continue) long-term partnerships that are not 'bounded' (ie. short-term, clearly defined, time-specific projects). Park et al. (2017) argue that the business model of the increasingly corporatised university has led to scholarship being directed by funding and "metrics designed for and about such fundable scholarship [that then] shape the viability of its faculty and the form, content, and tenor of their scholarship" (p. 273).

2.3.3.   Impacts of HE structures and cultures on universities and academics

There is a recognition that academics and universities are impacted by HE structures and cultures - for example, the numerous studies on the mental health crisis among academics which will be discussed below, as well as other impacts which will be explored in later sections in the chapter.

Universities

As this review highlights, there is considerable literature on how contemporary HE structures and cultures have impacted universities. For example, many argue against managerialism, pointing out that it is now seen as the only 'acceptable' leadership model whereby various forms of monitoring and performance metrics are used to evaluate individual and institutional worth, value, and by extension where they 'rank' nationally and internationally (Morrish 2019; Mountz et al. 2015; Bergland 2018; Puawai Collective 2019; Evans 2015). Other scholars argue that the neoliberalisation of HE has led to the impact and engagement agenda (Evans 2015) as well as the institutional obsession with employability (Osborne and Grant-Smith 2017). There is also a substantial amount of literature critiquing this shift, for example, Giroux's (2002) argument that "as large amounts of corporate capital flow into the universities, those areas of study in the university that don't translate into substantial profits get either marginalised, underfunded, or eliminated" (p. 434).

Academics

There is a growing body of literature focusing on impacts such as stress and excessive workloads stemming from neoliberal management approaches in HE (Berg et al. 2016; Maclean 2016; Mountz et al. 2015; Mullings et al. 2016; Loveday 2018;

Tight 2016). Bergland (2018) argues that the neoliberal reforms in HE are damaging the possibility of working collaboratively and across disciplines due to increased competition and the pressure to specialise within increasingly narrow niches. Adding to these difficulties, Askins and Blazek (2016) argue that neoliberal university structures lead to the "internalisation of competition and audit as embodied scholars" (p. 1086). It is therefore perhaps not surprising that an increasing number of studies (including Peake and Mullings 2016) highlight how the erosion of care, job insecurity, and high workload pressure have contributed to what has been called a "profound mental health crisis in universities" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 430). Morrish's 2019 report argued that the USS strikes were evidence of the unhappiness with the broader working conditions in HEIs. Morrish (2019) also highlighted the 2018 tragic death by suicide of Cardiff University lecturer, Malcolm Anderson, which was deemed to be a result of an excessive workload and management ignoring his objections. The death of Stefan Grimm of Imperial College in 2014 was also thought to have been "precipitated by pressure from his manager to increase his research grant funding" (Morrish 2019, p. 15).

Based on robust evidence, the Morrish report clearly indicates that "directive, performance-management approaches are counter-productive to the output, efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation and also to staff wellbeing and mental health" (2019, p. 4). Causes for poor mental health in HEIs were found to include: excessive and often escalating workloads that "frequently under-count time necessary for fulfilling tasks, and many tasks prove invisible to the workload assessors"; audit and metrics-driven by the need to comply with external nationwide audits like the REF and the TEF (Teaching Excellence Framework) which have now also been repurposed as "instruments of performance management"; increased precarity and insecure contracts; and the often unattainable performance management in HEIs linked to short-term outcomes and expectations (Morrish 2019, pgs. 9-10). The focus on short-term, quantifiable outcomes is

especially important in relation to CUPs and will be explored in more detail further down.

In addition to the mental health impacts, studies are increasingly highlighting the embodied impacts being experienced by academics (Mountz 2016; Parizeau 2016, Peake and Mullings 2016; Puawai Collective 2019; Todd 2020; Wood et al. 2020). Ahmed (2014) argues that the emotional and embodied impacts at the individual level are a result of the neoliberal university, and that these have largely been overlooked or regarded as unimportant. Authors of the 2019 Puawai Collective article who had been through New Zealand's Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF) (equivalent to the REF), described their experiences as, "having our individual worth measured according to a predetermined, externally contrived, and partial set of metrics that sum up our professional contributions with a personal grade" and how this made their university feel like an "uncaring, unsupportive environment" (p. 34).

Some universities have responded to the evidence that neoliberal academic practices have negative, sometimes severe and deadly impacts, by introducing institutional wellbeing and mental health activities such as lunchtime sessions including art, sport, or mediation for their (academic and administrative) staff (Brewster et al. 2022; Morrish 2019; UUK 2020). These initiatives have largely been criticised as being a way of sustaining a broken neoliberal system by increasing the pressure and placing the onus on individual staff to make changes to improve their own situations (Whittle et al. 2020).

2.3.4. Discourses of engagement - what and why

It is important to note that the language used to describe civic, place-based, or socially driven universities and

community-based work varies hugely in the literature, as well as on the ground. Geography can affect which terms are used, as well as differences in emphasis for example - the literature from the US and Canada tends to use 'engaged scholarship' and service-learning, whilst the UK literature often uses 'civic university', engaged learning and teaching, or engaged academics.

As has been discussed throughout this chapter, HE's role and purpose in society have continued to evolve and adapt over time. Gibb and Haskins (2014) state that the 'entrepreneurial university' - a concept associated with a business outlook (eg. Slaughter and Leslie 1997), can, and is, being used as a framework for engagement. Other scholars have argued that economic engagement and civic engagement are "not rigidly distinct" (Bond and Paterson 2005, p. 338). In addition to the neoliberal turn, the academy has also been influenced over the past two decades by the growth of discourses of engagement including the re-emergence of the 'civic university' - a broad umbrella term that can refer to the wider institutional set-up or it can represent an approach or a particular ethic, as well as community-university engagement (CUE) theory, practice, and rhetoric (Watermeyer 2012; Hart et al. 2008). Granados-Sanchez and Claudio (2014) state that CUE can be understood as a "multifaceted, multidimensional umbrella term that may be applied to a vast range of activities, as well as to a certain view of the role that the university has to play in society that underlies them" (p. 313).

What has become clear is that there are many different terms and concepts being used to describe the 'civic' or 'engaged' movement(s) and practices. For example, some scholars use terms including the civic university (Goddard et al. 2016), engaged scholarship (Boyer 1996; Beaulieu et al. 2018), the 'engaged university' (Watson et al. 2011; Cherrington et al. 2019), 'public engagement in higher education' (see for example NCCPE's 2010 Manifesto for Public Engagement),

service-learning (Campus Compact; Labhrainn 2007), community-engaged scholarship (da Cruz 2018; Robinson and Hawthorne 2018) community-based research (Strand et al. 2003), community-university research partnerships (Banks et al. 2013), community-university partnerships (Strier 2011; Pratt et al. 2011), among many more. The practices, mechanisms and structures of civic and/or CUE are rich and continually evolving.

Examples of the shift in the importance of university civic engagement can be seen in several large initiatives, for example, the Talloires Network (Talloires webpage) which began in 2005 and is now a network of 424 engaged universities across 84 countries (as of 2022). Several years following the Talloires Network, the Beacons for Public Engagement initiative (BPE) aimed at supporting UK HEIs in doing public engagement as well as encouraging "a culture change within UK universities to recognise, reward and support public engagement" (BPE web page). Some universities are positioning themselves as more 'engaged' institutions aiming at being agents of change capable of strengthening democracy, developing civic values in their students and staff, and strengthening their local host community *in addition to* developing new knowledge (see for example Goddard 2009; Goddard and Vallance 2011). Fitzgerald et al. (2012) contended that engagement has to be moved away from the margins and towards the heart of its research, teaching, and community work if universities want to thrive in the 21st century. Some might view organisations like the UK's relatively new Civic University Network (CUN) and the National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE) as examples of this shift in emphasis on civic impact and engagement in some UK HEIs. These shifts together with accounting measures such as the impact criteria in the REF represent the growth of the impact and engagement agendas in UK universities.

This civic, impact and engagement 'shift' is seen by some as the response from universities feeling pressure to

demonstrate their relevance and worth (Goddard 2016) as a result of various drivers including some that have been mentioned above, as well as the marketisation of the university (Chile and Black 2015). Others include a spatial driver for civic engagement in relation to the ever-expanding campus and the increasing need for universities to be able to 'get along' with their neighbours (Kagan and Diamond 2019; Williams and Cochrane 2013). In many instances, universities are the largest employer in the area and therefore have significant influence and power in that city (Barber et al. 2013, p. 26).

2.3.4.1. 'Civic university', engaged scholarship, and CUPs - how they relate to this thesis

Engaged scholarship can be understood as situating academic practice within the civic university model in which CUPs - which will be discussed in the next section, are one example. I'm starting from the position that engaged scholarship, which Boyer (1996) defines as including engaged teaching, engaged research, and engaged service - is a useful concept for my research because it encompasses the different aspects of CUPs I have looked at (as opposed to using a concept like PAR that only focuses on research), as well as providing a useful framework from which to draw upon when looking specifically at CUPs. This framework and critiques of ES will be briefly outlined here in order to inform the following section on CUPs.

Beaulieu et al.'s (2018) scoping review of the engaged scholarship literature over the past twenty years shows that there were shared values across the papers which included social justice and citizenship, as well as shared core principles; high-quality scholarship - defined by Cuthill and Brown (2010) as, "quality within engaged scholarship [as] both academically defined and socially accountable" (p. 130); reciprocity - outcomes need to be sustainable and mutually beneficial for both universities and communities, and knowledge and resources need to be shared (Sandmann 2008;

Cuthill et al 2014; Furco 2010) identified community needs - engaged academics need to be problem-driven rather than theory-driven; democratisation of knowledge; and boundary-crossing. The literature review also highlighted the engagement process as being on two levels - the individual (teaching, research, and service), and the institutional (the mission, reward structure, logistical support, and students).

In 1995 Schon wrote an important article critiquing the disconnect between the 'new scholarship' and the institutional norms within which it operated. He argued that this 'new scholarship' of the 90s put forward by Boyer required a different and alternative way of knowing. Schon wrote that the prevailing institutional epistemology - which he called technical rationality, was associated with science and didn't value other ways of knowing, particularly knowledge that is co-created (1995). In conjunction with this epistemology, institutions are highly structured, rule-bound and authority-based - all of which do not align very easily with the common features of engaged work (collaboration, community, or mutuality, for example).

Yankelovich (1999) amplified Shon's critique on technical rationality stating;

> for purposes of gaining control over people and things, the knowledge of technical and scientific experts has proven superior to other ways of knowing. But for the truths of human experience - learning how to live - that [technical scientific] form of knowledge is awkward, heavy-handed, and unresponsive. It fails to address the great questions of how to live, what values to pursue, what meaning to find in life, how to achieve a just and human world, and how to be a fully realised human person (p. 197)

Reflecting on their own experiences, American engaged academics Fear and Sandmann (2016), argued that the time for institutional change was in the early-to-mid 90s when the engagement movement was still being shaped, but that they

didn't push for epistemological change, and in their words, now see this as an "opportunity lost" (p. 120). They explain that whilst they had offered a means to reform the system at their own institution, they had not put forward a means to transform it (Fear and Sandmann 2016).

If we then agree with Beaulieu et al.'s (2018) assertion that engaged scholarship is not a strategy, but a posture - a way of being and practising that is permanent and permeates through the what and why of a university, then the civic reformation that has taken place in HE Is is not enough - it is not transformational. This poses a substantial challenge for the future and practice of CUPs and engaged academics as the current landscape of HE appears to be continuing down the current epistemic and institutional trajectory aligned with and informed by neoliberal principles - all of which will be explored in this thesis.

The above section exploring the various discourses of engagement illustrates the wide conceptualisations of civic engagement suggesting that engagement sits across different institutional frameworks and functions - for example, teaching, research, service, volunteering, public engagement, and economic engagement, depending on the context. This will be explored further in the CUP section below.

2.4.   CUPs

In this section I will introduce Community-University Partnerships (CUPs) and explore how they are positioned within higher education institutions according to the literature on the topic. Like 'civic', the terms community-university engagement (CUE) and community-university partnerships (CUPs) don't appear to have widely accepted or shared

definitions and are used in different ways by different people at different times. For example, Butterfield and Soska (2004) put out a call for papers on community-university partnerships and campus civic engagement and received over fifty papers that covered topics such as service-learning, applied research, civic engagement, participatory research, reports from community meetings, and many others. The rather wide variety of submissions highlights the many different interpretations and understandings academics have of CUPs, as well as how difficult it is to pin down what is meant by community-university partnerships. This fluidity in the use of terms (CUE, CUPs, participation, engaged scholarship, civic, etc.) means they are used to describe a wide array of activities and approaches, making it difficult to use only one term in this thesis. Whilst the terms used to describe different forms of engagement between communities and universities vary, there are some shared characteristics and practices that together, can form a loose definition that includes aims, ethos, and values.

Communities of Practice (CoP)

Some of the literature on CUPs uses the lens of CoP to better understand and analyse them. CoP is a social theory of learning stating that learning comprises a process of social participation and engagement that can be split into three parts - the domain, the community, and the practice (Wenger 1998). It has also been described as communities that are created to pursue a shared goal, with those involved being committed to learning together and sharing knowledge (Lave and Wenger 1991), with core features being mutual engagement, shared repertoire, and joint enterprise (Wenger 1998). Several academics from the University of Brighton's influential university-wide engagement programme - CUPP (Community University Partnership Programme) began to utilise a CoP framework as part of their approach to and evaluation of CUPs (Hart et al. 2007) because it usefully highlights the inherent unequal power and boundaries present in

learning partnerships (Farnsworth et al. 2016). For example, Hart et al. (2013) used CoPs as part of their approach to working with academics, parents, and practitioners in the context of developing a knowledge exchange partnership and to help them learn lessons from this approach. Whilst being helpful in its focus on participation, mutual learning, and community, it doesn't focus as much on the relationships, care, and emotions involved in CUPs, therefore it didn't form part of my conceptual framework or lens.

2.4.1. CUPs and community-university engagement characteristics

Aims & ethos/values/principles of CUPs and CUE

As stated above, whilst there isn't one accepted definition of CUPs and their aims, ethos, values and principles, there are some characteristics shared across the literature. There also appears to be significant influence from participation theory and participatory practice. For example, Patricia Hill Collins' (1990) suggestion that, "we all become agents of knowledge, seeking truths that emerge from dialogue that engages with lived reality" and that, "knowledge of everyday experience is vital to the process of transformative change" (p. 218) highlights participation theory's valuation of different knowledges, dialogue, and engaging with people's everyday experiences. This resonates with the ethos found in many CUPs. Participatory approaches, which include many different varieties such as participatory research (PR), participatory action research (PAR), and community-based participatory research (CBPR) to name a few, appear to be both a method used in many CUPs as well as being an ethos that informs the approach taken by many partnerships. Banks et al. (2013) define 'community' in community-based participatory approaches as a group of people who share certain characteristics which can include place, identity, interests, or practice (p. 264).

In following a worldview of connectedness, one begins to see experience and the lived reality as the starting point, as well as the heart of participatory practice (Ledwith and Springett 2009). PR, CBPR, and PAR are often used interchangeably, making it sometimes difficult to identify their individual characteristics. Innes et al. (2016) demonstrate this ambiguity in their definition, stating that participatory research is a "community-based action-research model that is consistent with Dewey's philosophical perspective [whereby] participants (researchers, students, and community members) define problems, gather information, and develop solutions together" (p. 36). Participatory approaches differ from the more traditional research model in their aims of; sharing power and resources; valuing different forms of knowledge; and mutual benefit through action and equal partnerships (Israel et al. 1998; Banks et al. 2013). Whilst being in the context of research, these definitions and characteristics are helpful in highlighting their link to CUPs through the aims, values, and practices they share including - collaboratively working together, mutual benefit, sharing of power and decision-making, and working with residents, students, and academics.

Literature focusing more specifically on aims and values of CUPs and engaged scholarship speak of; doing quality, meaningful, and relevant teaching and research (Wood et al. 2020); addressing the needs of particular communities (Northmore and Hart 2011); and mutual collaborative learning and capturing people's journeys (Phipps and Zanotti 2011, p. 221) - all of which aim to make a difference in people's lives. The literature highlights the importance of relationships in CUPs, which Robinson describes as being, "constructed by material, discursive, and ideological conditions in a given context" (Robinson 2011, p. 5). Northmore and Hart (2011) put forward that reciprocal relationships and mutual benefit are key to a CUP's sustainability. Adding to the emphasis on relationships is how essential the values of trust and mutual respect have been found to be in the building of solid foundations in CUPs (Harper et al. 2004; Suarez-Balcazar et al. 2005;

Thompson et al. 2003).

Questions of roles, identity, and power come to play in the context of relationships and collaborative partnerships like those in CUPs. Davids and Willemse (2014) posit that the "positions of the self and others is emergent, fluid, and flexible" (p. 2). Siemiatycki (2012) adds that an individual can have multiple roles, sometimes simultaneously - for example in a CUP, an academic researcher can also be a resident, a resident can also be a community researcher, a student can be a resident, and so on. Participants can inhabit multiple simultaneous identities and roles leaving the opportunity for different kinds of relationships and power dynamics (Frank and Sieh 2016, p. 524). Community members, students, and academics can all be described as participants, residents, researchers, experts, facilitators, and enablers, among other titles. Roles in general can be difficult to pin down and define in a context like a community which is itself often fluid and changing. They are also hard to define due to differing perceptions of power associated with various roles (Sousa 2021) - for example, when an academic is seen as possessing 'expert knowledge' about a local neighbourhood over the knowledge and experience of those who live there. This perception can come from both the residents in how they see themselves as not possessing special, or 'expert' knowledge like the academic, or by the academic herself who might privilege her own expertise. Valuing different forms of knowledge and experience is cited as both an important part of the ethos of CUPs which works toward the aim of more equitable relationships (Loh et al. 2021), as well as a challenge. One academic involved in a CUP explains this stating, "we try to avoid this discourse of helping people, we try to avoid an assumption that students and professors are experts and citizens are ignorant and our job is to help them" (Frank and Sieh 2016, p. 520).

What, how, who, where

CUPs sit against the backdrop of the re-emerged civic university ideals as well as the UK's 'impact' and 'engagement' agendas which were discussed in the previous section. Cuthill et al. (2014) state that many universities and projects are publicly funded and therefore, have a civic duty to engage with communities on issues that are relevant to them. Community-university partnerships and projects are an expression of engaged scholarship (ES) and represent one way in which the impact and engagement agenda is being enacted. When seeking to define what CUPs involve, we are met with a similar challenge as was the case in trying to define civic and engagement - a myriad of definitions and conceptualisations of what a CUP is and what they involve. CUPs vary in many ways including context, size, aims, length of engagement, and the level and type of engagement, collaboration, or co-production. In the UK, CUPs tend to be funded by external grants and short-term contracts for the university staff (Northmore and Hart 2011). Whilst there are many differences in the makeup of CUPs, they tend to share characteristics such as being interdisciplinary (Northmore and Hart 2011), being slower and more experimental, and sharing values and principles as outlined above.

The definition I have used for CUPs is practice-based and will be outlined in the Methods Chapter, however, it draws heavily from the concept of engaged scholarship (ES). As the literature shows, there is a link between ES and CUPs. Boyer's definition of ES is useful here in that CUPs; can involve teaching, research, or volunteering/community development type activities (or a combination of the three); often follow a participatory approach; and they work/engage with local individuals, organisations (for example schools, local charities, local businesses, etc.) or community groups (Boyer, 1990).

When applied to CUPs, this can involve engaged learning and teaching - or teaching that partners with the community (individuals, groups, organisations, schools, etc.), which can be linked to the curriculum - like Service Learning in the US (see for example Sandmann 2008; Shackford-Bradley 2013), internships (Furco 2010), or it can be more informal (Checkoway 2013; Franz 2009). Teaching-based CUPs approach module design in different ways with some programmes opting for very short-term small-scale engagement activities to fit the module timescale, thereby reducing the opportunity to make a more 'substantial' impact. However, other models of CUPs (teaching or research) will work with a particular community over a number of years with a long-term focus (see for example, Mason 2021), all of which can change the potential for both the quality and types of relationships and interactions, as well as the outputs and outcomes.

Engaged research can take different forms, for example, participatory action research (PAR) (Cuthill 2010), or community-research partnerships or collectives (Thomas-Hughes and Barke 2018), sometimes also called peer research (Logie et al. 2012) whereby local residents or people from a particular stakeholder group are ideally trained in all aspects of the research process and then supported to conduct research in their own communities on issues that matter to them (Ramaley 2009). Community-based participatory research (CBPR) seeks to mobilise both local and indigenous (ie. coming from a particular place over a long period of time) forms of knowledge from communities of interest, identity, and/or place (Banks et al. 2013). One example of engaged research reflects aspects of this in their description of a partnership that was needs-based and relationship-driven, with the author explaining how she "prioritised building meaningful, long-term research partnerships with local Native communities, while keeping the concerns and knowledge of Native participants at the center of her work" (Wood et al. 2020, p. 435). These forms of engaged research often represent varying degrees of participation and co-production, leading to equally varied levels of relevance and ownership by the

community/resident partner.

There is considerable literature on the motivations of academics for getting involved in a CUP, much of it supporting the suggestion that the engaged researcher views themselves as being socially accountable and having a civic responsibility to engage with the wider society on publicly relevant issues at all levels - local, national, and international (Cuthill and Brown 2010; Cuthill et al. 2014; Ramaley 2009). Davies (2016) gives a slightly different perspective describing the motivation as being tied to personal values at the institutional level as well as "more altruistic notions of the common good" (p. 213). This chimes with suggestions that participatory approaches are attractive to academics who are deeply committed to the valuation of different forms of knowledge and experiences (Heron and Reason 2008; Pain et al. 2007). In their 2020 paper, Wood et al. illustrate how caring about and having an emotional connection to the topic/place/person/etc. can be a strong motivating factor in getting and staying involved, as well as taking action against injustices occurring (p. 432).

Ethical considerations

Engaged Scholarship (ES) and CUPs appear to experience many similar ethical challenges involved in other forms of social research - for example, issues around anonymity, privacy, and confidentiality. There is, however, a growing critique of the standard rules-focused, code of conduct, ethical review process being driven by regulatory approaches to research ethics currently being used by many institutions. For example, Banks et al. (2013) argue that, "current institutional ethical codes, guidelines and ethical review procedures are not particularly well-suited to CBPR, in that they adopt principle-based and regulatory approaches to ethics; whereas character and relationship-based approaches to ethics are also very important in CBPR" (p. 263). Other challenges sited in the literature include questions over ownership of data, findings, and

publications, especially when there are conflicting interests as well as differing levels of accessibility and power (Love 2011; Maddocks 1992; Quigley 2006) - who gets to 'take credit' is a particularly salient issue in the context of the high pressure placed on academics to produce outputs (ie. journal articles) and demonstrate impact (Banks et al. 2013).

Challenges present in CUPs often have an ethical dimension to them due to their relational aspects and power dynamics - many of which will be discussed in the Challenges section below. Of particular importance for this thesis is the blurring of boundaries between 'researcher' and 'researched' - for example peer researchers studying their own communities (Banks et al. 2013), and academic and activist, for example in cases where someone is both researcher and community advocate (Horn et al. 2008), or an academic and activist (Cancian 1993). This poses ethical dilemmas for all involved in terms of whether and where they draw the line between these different but co-existing identities.

Impacts and evaluation

One way that UK universities can evaluate and demonstrate their 'impact' is through mechanisms like the REF and impact case studies (outlined earlier in this chapter), which can include things like CUPS. There is still great emphasis placed on outputs and outcomes as part of the evaluation process, however, Kelly and McNicoll (2011) point out that outcomes take time and often are a result of multiple factors meaning it is difficult to attribute them to one influence and they argue that "universities cannot deliver direct outcomes (e.g. a 'healthier society'), rather they can deliver outputs (e.g. 'deliver medical training'), which may or may not contribute towards the desired societal outcomes" (p. 24).

In their 2011 literature review, Hart and Northmore found that developing evaluation tools for university public

engagement was still in its infancy. Kelly and McNicoll (2011) echoed this stating that there was a growing need for a "holistic approach to capturing the broader value of what universities do and their wider impact on society, their 'social' as well as economic impact" (p. 3) because this was the "least researched area" (12). This is arguably still very much a challenge more than a decade on. The financial impact on society is easier for universities to track and evaluate because there are quantifiable outcomes that often come from traditional research and other university activities (e.g. number of jobs provided to the region, services open to the public, etc.). However, there is a lack of consensus on how best to evaluate CUPs in part due to the complex "intricacies of partnership formation" (Williamson et al. 2016, p. 57), as well as different meanings of 'success' and the challenge of objectively measuring it (Vasquez Jacobus et al. 2011). A major challenge presents itself when it comes to identifying, measuring, and evaluating impacts on society and individuals stemming from work that is often in-depth, subtle, long-term, and organic, such as community-university partnership projects. Being able to identify, evaluate and capitalise on these social benefits is crucial for funding purposes, as well as for gaining institutional support to be able to continue doing this kind of work.

Due to the context-dependent and participatory nature of this kind of engagement, the resulting impacts and implications are inconsistent across different institutions and locations (Davies 2016). This presents several challenges including making it difficult to be able to predict 'outcomes' and 'impacts' for funding application and institutional support, as well as for measuring and evaluating the impacts from engagement that does not fit a standardised model that can then be more easily compared. These challenges are made more acute by the current neoliberal practices focused on quantification (Nussbaum 2010).

2.4.2.   Benefits and challenges of CUPs

2.4.2.1.   Benefits

From the literature, the general benefits of CUPs include research and learning that is timely, relevant, rigorous and impactful due to its co-production, all of which can lead to better-designed services, practices, and policies (Barnes et al. 2016; London et al. 2011; Banks et al. 2013). Other identified benefits of CUPs include an easily accessible setting that facilitates more frequent face-to-face interactions, thereby building the foundations of trust (Harkavy 2006); the opportunity for interdisciplinary co-produced learning based on local need with the potential for substantial results (Banks et al. 2013); and the ability to pragmatically evaluate the partnership and project with community members and academics and determine whether it's making a difference for both parties (Harkavy 2006). Partnering with a university can be helpful for community partners and residents involved in terms of providing legitimacy (whether real or perceived), as well as access to the resources, expertise, and reputation of the institution (London et al. 2011) which can be helpful for satisfying funders or when trying to persuade people to get involved in the CUP (Banks et al 2013). Universities can also offer stability to their community partners (Northmore and Hart 2011). For Greenwood and Levin (2001), CUPs enable the development of local solutions with local people to local problems. Barnes et al. (2016) expand on this stating that, "embedding participatory action-oriented endeavours strategically in teaching, research, and community service provides real-world examples to counter 'town versus gown' tendencies for long-term beneficence inside and outside academia" (p. 2). Another benefit cited is the subtle change in mentality that can happen in a community as highlighted by the reflection from a resident participant below,

> I think there's a lot of people in shock in the community that there's ten people in the community that have actually achieved a diploma out of [it]...They've become role models within their community, that it's spreading out hugely. And you don't see that

and it's not something you can measure, but it is there (Quillinan et al. 2018, p. 119)

This quote emphasises important benefits at the broader community level as well as the challenging aspects of capturing and measuring this kind of impact and outcomes.

The literature points to benefits for all CUP participants which include general learning and capacity-building (e.g. developing new skills and understanding), as well as learning together (London et al. 2011; Banks et al. 2013). Resident participants have been found to gain confidence and a sense of empowerment (Hart et al. 2007), and academic participants can meet teaching, research, and service requirements for promotion. In the work of London et al. (2011) the university in the case study, a land grant institution in the US, was able to fulfil one of their institutional aims which was to support CUPs to conduct publicly relevant and beneficial research as defined, informed, and applied by the community partner. One large case study of a community-university engagement project with over 1,200 respondents found that the project helped the university gain a positive reputation as well as more visibility, however, the authors highlighted that this programme was problematically, "constructed, designed and delivered from a marketing paradigm rather than from the framework of critic and conscience of society by the 'engaged expert'" (Chile and Black 2015, p. 248). This suggests a tension in the way this kind of work and engagement is developed and used (or projected).

2.4.2.2.   Challenges

Power, knowledge, and attitudes

As alluded to above, CUPs are complex and multifaceted and whilst the literature discusses many benefits, it also highlights many challenges. Focussing on participation, Campbell (1992) identified four constraints; institutional, cultural,

knowledge, and financial, whilst Agarwal (2001) pointed out that the equity and efficiency achieved by participation may be constrained due to the socio-economic inequalities and unequal power relations already present. In fact, some studies have found that some work utilising participatory methods ended up recreating current inequalities (Biggs and Smith 1998). It is complex and challenging to set up a socially equal situation where everyone feels willing and able to participate in practice. Claridge's 2004 study illustrates this in their finding that existing power inequalities meant that community members re-organised themselves to respect their community's social structure. So even though the focus groups were set up with chairs in a circle, the chairs were moved by the participants so that those with power sat directly in front of the researcher with the other participants sitting either behind them on chairs, or behind them on the ground (Claridge 2004).

Other challenges for CUPs highlighted in the literature include the academy's knowledge culture (Gibbons et al. 2010; London et al. 2011), prevailing attitudes (Vazquez Jacobus et al. 2011), and power. There is an ongoing debate about different types of knowledge and how to classify them. Gibbons et al. (2010) highlight that Mode 1, often defined as 'pure', peer-reviewed, 'expert'-led, and disciplinary, among other things, is often considered to be the 'traditional' and accepted/able form of knowledge production in the academy. These characteristics are in tension with the outputs and outcomes that fit in Mode 2 and emerge from the participatory, organic, problem-driven production of knowledge coming out of CUPs. Hart and Wolff (2006) stated that unlike Mode 1, the kind of knowledge attributed to Mode 2 has not been recognised or valued by HE or academics in the same way. A 2006 survey of the attitudes of scientists in the UK found that scientists who made their work more accessible to the public were less respected by 20 percent of those surveyed (The Royal Society 2006) - suggesting a hierarchy of preferred knowledge production and a dislike of more accessible forms of

knowledge and knowledge dissemination in the wider academy.

Expanding on the above example of the complex power dynamics within and between communities, many scholars have highlighted the inherent power imbalances present in CUPs and participatory research (see for example - Haarman and Green 2021; Banks et al. 2013). For example, Hart et al. (2013) found that power and authority are "often seen to reside more in academics than community partners", making establishing democratic spaces for knowledge exchange (KE) through CUPs a challenge (p. 278). The level of collaboration and co-production of the entire process from design, delivery, and evaluation will have an impact on whether all participants, and in particular the community resident, feel empowered as equals. This points to the importance of being mindful of how partnerships and relationships are established, as well as how, "power is distributed and control exerted" (Banks et al. 2013, p. 267).

To complicate things further, the role and impact of attitudes and perceptions have also been highlighted in the literature. One example of particular importance to partnerships that include people from 'marginalised' or often ignored communities, is the ongoing challenge and legacy of the 'town-gown' divide going back centuries and the "familiar bias in the attitude of some academics – that community partners are the feeble-minded, albeit stout, cousins to the intellectual inhabitants of the ivory tower" (Vazquez Jacobus et al. 2011, p. 70). These challenges around biassed attitudes and perceptions of 'acceptable' knowledge and knowledge holders have contributed to some academics perceiving CUPs as not core to their role and potentially damaging to their careers (Checkoway 2013), as well as impacting how communities perceive their local universities. Butterfield and Soska (2004) found that many residents had negative attitudes towards the university from their past experiences of academics parachuting into their community to get what they wanted,

making them feel 'studied', and then leaving once their report was finished or their funding ran out. London et al. (2011) echo this finding stating that "legacies of distrust" (p. 26), in large part due to the university's historical ties with the agricultural industry, made developing relationships and trust with the community very difficult. This suggests that these attitudes and perceptions can damage levels of trust and relationships and can also contribute to the difficulties of recruiting CUP participants.

What counts

Alarmingly, whilst the engaged scholarship movement has been growing since 1995 (beginning in the US) (Beaulieu et al. 2018), the growing number of functions and purposes of universities has led to less emphasis being placed on their civic missions and a culture that has, over time, tended to discourage academics from doing engaged scholarship (Checkoway 2013). Whilst this is not referring to the UK context specifically, as has been highlighted in this chapter, the functions and purpose of universities in the UK have also grown, suggesting that this challenge could also be happening here.

Barriers for academics using participatory practices have also been highlighted in the literature, for example, the now common short-termism, or short-term mindset, as well as the top-down managerialism currently impeding practitioners with a culture of bureaucracy as well as an erosion of autonomy. The current climate of short-term research contracts, the constant need to search for funding which in turn takes away one's time for actual research, and the pressure to meet publishing targets and sufficient outputs are the reality for many academics today. These pressures combine to form considerable challenges for those academics wanting to pursue participatory research and teaching. There is a risk that without institutional support, CUPs may be in danger of inconsistent support if they are reliant on individual leaders or

funders who "may have short-term horizons" (Northmore and Hart 2011, p. 9). Reinforcing this position, Shucksmith et al. (2021) argue that getting long-term commitment and funding from HEIs and funders is an ongoing challenge for partnerships seeking to engage with long-term challenges - a challenge that "has intensified under neoliberalism, with its penchant for competitive, time-limited project funding" (p. 267). Watermeyer and Hedgecoe (2016) argue that universities now prefer research that can be "more easily evaluated, immediate" with "immediately recognisable results and benefits" (p. 652). Echoing this, Northmore and Hart (2011) highlight that sustaining CUPs and the relationships within them over time is a considerable challenge as well as being an under-researched aspect in the CUP literature.

Other challenges stemming from academic cultures highlighted in the literature include the power of rankings and the neoliberal academic business model which has led to institutions becoming more risk-averse, and less experimental when teaching and research fall outside of norms or easy quantifiability. Whitaker and Grollman (2018) stated,

> despite rewards for productivity, creativity, and innovation, scholars are implicitly rewarded to a far greater extent for 'playing it safe', remaining 'objective', detached and apolitical in their work, and refusing to challenge the status quo in academia and beyond. These conservative norms pose constraints on marginalised scholars.

This in turn makes more participatory practices and long-term collaborative work with communities more difficult to 'sell' to institutions who are trying desperately to climb up the league tables and rankings even though measures vary between ranking systems and between years, and they offer an arguably narrow and ill-defined portrait of an institution (Brink 2018).

The literature also highlights debates on what is valued in the academy and how 'success', 'failure', engagement, and

impact are conceptualised, measured, and evaluated. Mountz et al. (2015) refer to care-less aspects of current structures giving the example of academics being asked to translate small grants or leave "into products that 'count'" (p. 1244). Mulvihill et al. (2011a) argue that demonstrating the value of universities working in partnerships with their local communities to address societal issues is key for universities and a challenge for the engaged academics involved. With regards to the CUPs themselves, Mulvihill et al. (2011b) point out that it is important to make a distinction between measuring the impact of a CUP on its participants, and its wider social impact - both of which are complex.

Time

There is much written about the temporal culture in the contemporary university. For this thesis, I draw most from feminist slow scholarship critiques of neoliberal temporal cultures in the academy - most of which will be discussed in greater depth in the following section. However, there are other challenges related to time in the literature, for example, the amount of time needed to build trust and relationships (Banks et al. 2013; Phipps and Zanotti 2011; London et al. 2011) and how this sits in tension with the current focus on 'fast scholarship' (Wood et al. 2020) in the academy. Another challenge includes a mismatch between the differing expectations and timelines of funders, academics, and community partners (Love 2011). In engaged teaching there can be a mismatch between a university timetable and the 'real world', the level of student supervision, and how well (or if) community needs fit in with the assessment structure (Love 2011; Frank and Sieh 2016). Frank and Sieh (2016) reflect on the issue of different timescales stating how it proved to be a major constraint in both their case studies, having a knock-on effect in terms of the level of impact on the community due to the resulting levels of trust, whether a relationship had been established, and the output quality (p. 522).

Sustaining both engagement and capacity over time is cited as a major challenge for some community partners, for example, some "carve out time and resources from their respective organisations" despite limited staff and financial resources resulting in partner organisations "running on fumes" (London et al. 2011, p. 26). Interestingly, London et al. (2011) don't comment on whether the academics involved also struggled in terms of having sufficient time for the partnership as well as their other work commitments. Quillian et al. (2018) found that often, sustaining CUPs relies on a few key individuals from the university and the community, suggesting that the struggle for time currently being experienced by many in the academy and community could put CUPs at risk if those key individuals find themselves without sufficient time for these partnerships.

Chile and Black (2015) sum up many of the challenges facing community-university engagement as a result of neoliberal university practices stating that;

> the increasing constraints on university funding means that university-community engagement programmes must provide a 'business case' for ongoing funding. The primary objective of creating social value alone may not present the business case with measurable outcomes sufficient to ensure adequate and sustainable resources to support university-community engagement programmes. The shift in the language of programme framing, the nature of delivery and the university departments fronting university-community engagement reflect the trend towards corporate-inspired measures of accountability based on performance targets, and market influence on the role of the university and the challenge of university social responsibility (p. 249)

Building relationships, reciprocity, and mutual benefit

All of the preceding challenges coalesce into a difficult starting point for CUPs and the process of developing relationships (upon which they are built). Cherry and Shefner (2004) argue that barriers to equity and equality in the processes of civic

engagement include race, class, and organisational differences. Whilst HEIs are changing and some are experiencing financial and other difficulties, especially due to the COVID-19 pandemic, they are still centres of power meaning that relationships between them and their local communities will be inherently unequal (Butterfield and Soska 2004). Based on their analysis of the CUP literature and their own experiences, Northmore and Hart (2011) emphasise the complexity and difficulty present in "developing genuinely reciprocal relationships between partners with different levels of power, legitimacy and commitment" (p. 10). The work of London et al. (2011) highlights one example of this difficulty, reporting that even when intentions for mutual benefit are there, it seems that this can be difficult to achieve in reality with some community partners reporting feeling frustrated by university partners taking resources, but not reciprocating.

Another possible challenge in the process of developing relationships between university and community partners comes up when, for example, the university partner receives outside funding prior to having established a relationship with the community partner - this can be of concern for the community partner who may worry that the university may be taking a leading role instead of working with (London et al. 2011). This highlights an added complexity once you incorporate funder and university structures that often require project proposals *before* work has been approved/begun with outside partners.

As this review illustrates, the importance of relationships is highlighted in the CUP literature, however, much less is written about the role of care, emotions, and emotional labour involved in the context of CUPs. Brown et al. (2020) found that "community partners working with academics have to bear the emotional labour; by 'standing in the gap' they are having to move between community and university" (p. 93). Wood et al. (2020) mention the emotional toll in some of the work

they discuss in their article including how academics from underrepresented groups are encouraged to research marginalised communities, but there is little discussion on the resulting emotional risks and impact this had on them. The embodied effects of the contemporary university have been discussed more in the literature in recent years (Mountz et al. 2015; Parizeau et al. 2016; Peake and Mullings 2016; Todd 2020), however, this does not focus specifically on engaged academics.

2.4.3.   Suggestions from the literature for 'successful' partnerships

The literature points to several key aspects needed for 'successful' or authentic partnerships including being rooted in the community, respecting and drawing from the knowledge and skills of all the partners (Allahwala et al. 2013), and making sure that the community partner is listened to instead of being told what to do (Quillinan et al. 2018). Wright et al. (2011) found that due to the amount of time needed to see impacts from activities and relationships, 'success' from the perspective of partnerships may depend on whether they are established or newer partnerships. Reflecting some of the key principles in engagement, Fitzgerald et al. (2012) suggest that 'success' for them meant that it was reciprocal and shared by all those involved and that the outcomes benefited not just the university, but the community as well. These suggestions reflect the necessary characteristics needed for 'genuine engagement' (shared benefits and mutual goals) which Butcher et al. (2011) argue distinguishes a transformational partnership from a transactional one.

The London et al. (2011) paper highlights the importance and complexity of relationships in CUPs, and in particular, how their CUP benefited from; their community partners' already established relationships with their own local communities; the strong relationship between the community partners and the lead academic partner stemming from his past work

with them; as well as his credibility and reputation from his work in environmental justice. Other factors that strengthened the relationship between the community and university partners was a collaboration agreement which defined roles, responsibilities, decision-making processes, etc. London et al.'s (2011) description makes clear the important role that dialogue and collective decision-making processes had in building trust and strengthening the relationships in this partnership.

The challenges discussed above all contribute to the overarching challenge of sustaining CUPs in an increasingly challenging context. Northmore and Hart (2011) put forward that in addition to long-term funding, the fundamental aspects necessary for a CUP to be sustained are the "reciprocal relationships and mutual benefits that exist between community and university partners and their institutions" (p. 2). Discussing and sharing the ownership of data, outputs, etc., and altering typical academic processes when possible, like publishing, were cited as ways of ensuring that agreed partnership principles of collaboration were reflected in actions as well as words (London et al. 2011).

A study of community-university engagement practices utilising and interrogating Boyer's Model found that the success of a project was significantly related to the level of commitment to engagement found in the university's core policy and practices (Mtawa et. al. 2016). Northmore and Hart (2011) found that having community engagement as an institutional priority, supportive senior leaders, and stable (core) funding enabled them to maintain links and relationships with their community, academic, and student partners over time - highlighting a difference and tension between long-term partnerships and the importance of sustainability, and the more typical short-term project-based initiatives that seek outcomes in specific (usually short) timescales to fit with institutional and funding criteria. Shea (2011) made the critical

argument that institutional commitment was needed and helpful for things like long-term funding, but more importantly, for being able to handle and navigate inevitable leadership changes over time. This suggests that the impacts of the current neoliberal academic practices and policies may indeed have a negative impact on engaged academics and CUPs when there is a lack of high-level commitment to civic engagement as a result of it not fitting in the markets and competition mould. Whilst the literature suggests some helpful characteristics for CUPs as well as highlighting the general impacts resulting from the neoliberalisation of the academy, there is a lack of focus on the impacts of current work allocations and the lack of time academics have, especially for the relational aspects in the context of CUPs.

2.4.4. The voices of CUP participants with lived experience

Resident participant voices

The current research on the lived experiences and impacts of community-based learning on communities is lacking (Wood et al. 2020) and appears to focus on the impact to the host organisation where students volunteer as part of their course, not on individual community members involved in community-university projects (Edwards et al. 2001; Blouin and Perry 2009). The community voice is present in some of the literature, but this is typically from the perspective of a community organisation taking part in a collaboration with a university (e.g. Hardwick and Metcalf 2020), and therefore different from an independent resident (Williamson et al. 2016). Whilst this perspective is important and valid, a community organisation employee's level of self-confidence, social capital, and power compared to someone from an excluded or marginalised community is likely to be vastly different.

One salient example of this is Frank and Sieh's 2016 article that specifically claims that its main aim was to investigate the

impact of university-community engagement on community participants (p. 514). However, they do not actually interview the community participants themselves. Instead, they interviewed the module leaders and the academics involved, asking them how they perceived the impact on the community participants. They conclude by stating that, "further research is needed including interviews with community participants […] to explore the impacts these activities have had and how community members perceive university's engagement involving students" (p. 526). This suggests a limitation in the CUP literature and provides a justification for this research.

Focusing on the lessons learned from a CUP in Ireland, one article does include the voices of the resident participants, albeit in a limited way. In their article, Quillinan et al. (2018) state that everyone involved in their co-produced further education community programme enhanced their skills, knowledge and understandings, and "found the experience transformative" as a result of their participation (p. 117). For example one of their students (a resident participant) said, "before I would have never [noticed] a lot of what I have in my community, yes it does benefit mental, physical wellbeing, health, but I would have never looked at it that way. Whereas now after doing this I can see now the benefits of them" (Quillinan et al. 2018, p. 118). Two other resident participant excerpts shared how one could see the benefits of the project for the community in terms of seeing physical, visible changes - for example in the allotments, whilst the other stated that the diploma he gained through the project has made him more confident and more willing and able to help his community (Quillinan et al. 2018, p. 118). Whilst it is positive to see five resident participant voices included in an article, the remaining 23 excerpts are from the university and other stakeholders in the project.

In spite of this relative scarcity, there is of course literature that includes the voices of individual resident participants to a

greater degree. Examples in the literature include: London et al.'s (2011) article on a CUP that utilised a PAR approach in its work involving health and environmental advocates in California; a co-written chapter between one academic and three community researchers (CRs) about their experiences (Morrice et al. 2007); and the accounts of community researchers in Banks et al. (2013). In this paper, Banks et al. (2013) highlight how the boundary made between researcher and 'researched' in ethical guidelines that tend to emphasise not harming research participants whilst "assuming the invulnerability of researchers" (p. 270), becomes blurry in peer research. They state that in coming from the same community the research is taking place and the often different and more equal exchange of experiences and vulnerabilities community researchers (CRs) have with their 'participants', CRs can face a number of ethical difficulties (Banks et al. 2013). They highlight the uncertainty involved around what and how much to disclose of their own personal experiences and explain how CRs can feel helpless in instances where a participant is experiencing particularly difficult things (poverty, loss, depression, etc.), as well as not being able to leave the research 'field' (Banks et al. 2013). Whilst this is a very valuable contribution in terms of hearing the voices of community researchers as well as its focus on what it's like engaging with people living in difficult circumstances, they do not extend their discussion to how this impacts academic researchers involved in this kind of research.

Engaged academic voices

Some argue that the current model of HE as described above - industry-facing, output-focused, and with financially-centred metrics, is not conducive to more radical and different ways of working or thinking, like slow scholarship (Mountz et al. 2015). Expanding this to academics working in and with communities, the small amount of literature that is available on the experiences of engaged academics (Cutforth 2013) would appear to reflect this

statement.

The literature that is available, however, includes some important reflections. For example, the Wood et al. (2020) paper written by three engaged academics in Southern California reflecting on their experiences of working with young people in their teaching and research, many of whom had very complex and difficult lives - for example homelessness, fear of deportation, depression - and the increased stress, anxiety, and emotional distress they felt and saw among their peers and students over the years. They commented that whilst they were well trained in research and teaching methods, they felt that their training left them completely ill-equipped when trying to deal with their students' emotional distress and precarity as well as their own personal reactions to these encounters (p. 433). All three of the authors ended up having periods of acute personal difficulties including, physical, financial, emotional, relational, and/or dependency issues as a result of their vulnerabilities being triggered by their work and the ensuing lack of time and support from their institution to deal with these very difficult situations (Wood et al. 2020). Some of these experiences and responses to working with people and communities in duress are reflected in research that has found that researchers can at times experience secondary trauma as a result (Gilliam and Swanson 2020; Warden 2013). The lack of guidance and support for researchers for the many ethical challenges present in participatory research is also highlighted in Banks et al. (2013), however, as highlighted in the discussion above, they refer to community researchers and not academic researchers.

Of the small amount of literature available about and/or from engaged academics there is a strong sense that they have to occupy an uneasy space where they have to "be in, but not of" the university (Moten and Harney 2004, p. 101). Osborne and Grant-Smith (2017) argue that resisting from within the institution, including what they see as daily practices of

resistance, can create spaces of transformation (p. 67). This uneasy space appears to be echoed in how engaged teaching and research and CUPs appear to be awkwardly positioned in institutions - something that will be briefly discussed in the next section.

2.4.5. How CUPs are represented and positioned within institutional frameworks

As the discussion above illustrates, the literature suggests that CUPs still sit uncomfortably in a university's structure, housed in a variety of institutional areas (engaged teaching, research, public engagement, volunteering, etc.), often occupying space on the edges. Kelly and McNicoll (2011) found that even though an institution/organisation's higher purpose was important, the main driver for them in being able to articulate their public value was funding (p. 4). Some scholars have argued that often, institutions are not embedding this kind of work into their institutional strategies leading to it being fragmented (McEwen and Mason O'Connor 2013), short-term, and seen as being in addition, not central, to the core of the university's activities (Fitzgerald et al. 2012). Davies (2016) echoes this stating that despite their institution's claim of supporting engagement in their strategic missions, engaged academics felt like "they were outside of the mainstream of their institution by doing engagement" (p. 217) and that they had to continually justify this work against more 'traditional' forms of research. She explains that these academics felt that they had to

> translate or represent their involvement in collaborative research using the normative language of knowledge exchange that, they suggested, was understood by the university to maintain academics as the expert – rather than in terms of the collaboration they generated with their partners (Davies 2016, p. 217)

Banks et al. (2013) argue that "there is a contradiction present between the social justice driver of civic engagement and community-based research methods and how HEIs also use this work to capitalise on the impact of these projects" (p.

275), often for REF purposes. The above highlights some of the messiness around how engaged scholarship and CUPs are perceived and the ambiguous nature of where they sit within institutions, as well as suggesting that there may be a disconnect between what institutions say they're doing and what they are actually doing.

2.5.   Conceptual Framework - Ethics of Care and Slow Scholarship

2.5.1.   Introduction

Ethics of care and slow scholarship can be situated within the broader literature on scholar activism and the evolving paradigms of impact and engagement in academia. Acknowledging these alternative bodies of literature is crucial to framing radical engaged scholarship within a broader conceptual framework. In locating the Ethics of Care and Slow Scholarship within the expansive realm of scholar activism, it becomes evident that these approaches are not isolated but interconnected with various academic discourses. Kye Askins, in her collaborative work with Pain and Kesby (Pain et al. 2011), navigates the geographies of impact, illustrating the multifaceted dynamics of power, participation, and potential within scholar activism. Chatterton, Hodkinson, and Pickerill (2010) advocate for strategic interventions, transcending the confines of the neoliberal university, and Derickson and Routledge (2015) stress the transformative power of collaboration in resourcing scholar activism. In understanding different approaches to scholar activism, it becomes apparent that the landscape is diverse, encompassing interventions inside and outside academic institutions. Slow Scholarship and the Ethics of Care, as championed by Berg and Seeber (2016) and Askins (see for e.g. 2009; 2016), respectively, offer unique pathways within this broader context. Slow Scholarship aligns with the call for strategic, thoughtful interventions, disrupting the fast-paced academic culture, while the Ethics of Care underscores the relational and compassionate aspects, promoting collaboration and transformation in scholar activism. By recognising these alternative perspectives,

this conceptual framework gains depth and inclusivity, capturing the multifaceted nature of radical engaged scholarship within the broader discourse on impact, engagement, and scholar activism.

Early in this chapter, characteristics of the contemporary university were explored including new managerialism and the temporal culture, followed by a brief discussion on the impacts of these characteristics on universities and academics. These characteristics form part of what some critics call, the 'care-less' university (Wood et al. 2020; Mountz et al. 2015) in which care is devalued and emotions are often seen as non-core to scholarly work (Davidson et al. 2014). Drawing from literature that comes largely from radical scholarship and feminist geographers, this section will introduce the main analytical concepts employed in this thesis - Ethics of Care (or Care Ethics) and Slow Scholarship, as well as how they are a helpful lens for my focus on the lived experiences of CUP participants. This will be juxtaposed within a discussion on how relationships, care, and emotions are represented in the literature. Alternative visions of the academy put forward by EoC and SS advocates will be examined before looking at critiques and limitations of these concepts.

Informed by radical theory and rooted in social justice, radical scholarship has for decades included work on wealth, class, health, gender, race (to name a few), and how individuals and communities have resisted various systems of oppression (Blomley 2006; Gibson 2014). It is enacted through 'care-full' day-to-day actions and relationships that form the basis of meaningful engagement. Meaningful engagement is defined as relationships and actions that contribute to the lived experiences of people and communities living near us (Wood et al. 2020, p. 436). Wood et al. (2020) argue that when contextualising radical scholarship within an ethics of care, these meaningful encounters - which can occur through engaged care-full teaching, participatory action research methods, or activism - develop from time spent with students or

research participants in those personal moments - those 'at the water cooler' interactions, as well as when care ethics inspire wider commitment to challenging power and those structures that reproduce inequities (p. 436).

Kaufman-Osborn et al. (2018) cite how feminist geographic scholarship on care actually reflected a 'care revolution' that was influenced by and came out of Tronto's 1993 seminal book, *Moral Boundaries: a political argument for an ethic of care*, as well as other influential scholars who engaged with the politics of care from feminist, post-colonial and anti-racist lenses (eg. Hill Collins 1990; Narayan 1995; Sevenhuijsen 1998; Robinson 1999; Folbre 2001; Held 2006). Geographies of care have focused on many different topics and issues, for example, the elderly, migration, health care, people with disabilities, as well as caring as a discipline whereby the role of care in research practice and pedagogy is explored (Lawson 2007).

There has also been work highlighting and calling for more focus on emotions in academic work (see for e.g. Askins 2016; Bondi 2005; Davidson and Milligan 2004), especially on the interconnectedness between emotions, relationships, and place (Bondi 2005; Davidson and Milligan, 2004). For example, in 2006, Heynen called for a "really radical geography - one that does not take for granted the fundamental material necessities of human bodies surviving amidst dire material inequality" (p. 919). Several years later, Lawson posed the question, "instead of radical geography, how about caring geography?" (2009, p. 210). She was drawing from feminist political economy and care ethics and arguing that care and emotions are central to our lives and therefore to geographic scholarship. I would go further and extend this to scholarship in general, not just geography.

However, over ten years on from these provocations and despite more calls for bringing together radical and emotional geographies (eg. Askins 2019; Askins and Swanson 2019), this is rarely done. The work of Wood et al. (2020) draws from and cites the few scholars who have called for a more radical and caring geography in recent years (Askins 2009; Askins and Blazek 2016; Brown and Pickerill 2009; Heynen 2006; Lawson 2007). Below I will briefly outline how care, EoC, and SS are defined in the literature before moving to a broader discussion of how they are positioned in the literature.

2.5.1.1.   EoC and SS definitions

Care and ethics of care (also called care ethics)

Tied to morality and behaviour, care is defined as both a practice and a value, or a way of understanding ethics (Robinson 2011, p. 4), which is essential not only in creating and nurturing relationships, but is also fundamental in working towards a just society (Held 2006). Lawson (2007) highlights that under neoliberalism, the care that we all need to receive or give currently happens in private spaces. Mountz et al. (2015) argue that caring needs to stop happening only in private spaces or private times because caring and responding to the needs of others keeps us both relevant and human "in ways that no metric can measure" (p. 1247). This insight is central to the motivations driving my research, particularly its potential implications for the work of CUPs.

Drawing from Lorde (1988) and Ahmed (2014) and views of self-care as warfare, Sevenhuijsen (1998) talks about care as meeting the needs of yourself and others. Care ethics, used interchangeably with ethics of care, developed as one potential way of resisting liberal economic theory and views interdependence and relationality as key to the human experience and fundamental to existence (Bartos 2019; Robinson 2011). An ethics of care places the moral significance of

relationships at the fore (Askins and Blazek 2016) and views caring relations and care work as a social need, not an individual one (traditionally filled by women and/or people of colour) (Bartos 2019, p. 768). Morality is not based on rules or principles, but instead, is based on "the practices of care through which we fulfil our responsibilities to particular others" (Robinson 2011, p. 5). Mountz et al. (2015) define an EoC as being, "personal and political, individual and collective" (p. 1251). The Puawai Collective (2019) emphasise the importance of needing to acknowledge the embodied nature of work and the "whole person-ness of the academic" (Puawai Collective 2019, p. 35), therefore, as part of their ethic of care they recognise and value all forms of labour both within and outside of academia.

Closely tied to care and the EoC is the role of emotion which, some argue, shapes the way we see and feel what is around us due to its connection to place and relationality (Bondi 2005; Davidson and Milligan 2004). Askins and Blazek (2016) put forward that a key component of a radical care ethic is making "emotions visible in process and relations" (p. 19). Wood et al. (2020) added to this stating that emotions are not only central to human relations, they are also a foundation of friendship and are connected to motivation and reciprocity. Emotional labour is a concept that has been examined and discussed a lot more in recent times, especially by feminist scholars (Hartley 2018) and in connection to care ethics. Developed and defined by Arlie Hochschild in 1983 as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 18), the idea of emotional labour refers to the emotions, care, actions, and roles involved in both paid and unpaid spheres (Hochschild 2012) and has been used in different fields to examine a variety of things including the wellbeing of workers in the service and health industries (Grandey 2000). De Castro et al. (2004) add that emotional labour involves the suppression or altering of one's emotions to fit what is expected in the working environment and that this has a cost for the worker (for example stress and burnout).

Slow scholarship definition

Honore (2005) explains that "fast and slow do more than just describe a rate of change", rather, they are "ways of being, or philosophies of life" which are "about making real and meaningful connections - with people, culture, work, food, everything" (p. 14-15). Influenced by the 'slow movement' (Parkins and Craig 2006), SS is both a response to and a call for resisting neoliberal temporal regimes and audit culture and their impacts (see Halberstam 2011; Meyerhoff et al. 2011). In the influential collectively written 2015 article on SS as a feminist politics of resistance, Mountz et al. define it as a commitment to good scholarship, teaching, service, and to a "collective feminist EoC that challenges accelerated time and elitism of the neoliberal university" (p. 1237), and involves "working with care while also caring for ourselves and others" (p. 1253). They argue that good scholarship (research), teaching, and service require time: "time to think, write, read, research, analyse, edit, collaborate, engage, innovate, experiment, organise, evaluate, and inspire" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1237). Some of the scholars who have called for SS include Berg and Seeber (2016), McCabe (2012), Garey et al. (2014), Hartmann and Darab (2012), and O'Neill (2014). Feminist scholarship helps us to see and interrogate uneven power relations as well as the gendered contexts of the academic landscape (Ropers-Huilman and Winters 2011). Martell (2014) argues that SS isn't only about time, it's also about structures of power and inequality. Mountz et al. (2015) take these ideas and suggest that SS is therefore not just about improving individual lives, but it also has to be about "remaking the university" and "cultivating caring academic cultures and processes" (p. 1238) in which "experimentation, creativity, different epistemologies, and dissidence are all valued and encouraged" (p. 1254).

2.5.2. How care, emotions, identity, emotional labour, and slow scholarship are positioned/discussed in the context of the academy in the literature

Care and emotions

Since I'm focusing on the relational (relationships, care, emotions, emotional labour) aspects within CUPs, it is important to know how these are positioned in the literature. Care and emotional labour are positioned in several different ways in the literature. As was discussed earlier in the chapter, new managerialism values have been adopted by public institutions including HEIs, meaning that traits related to entrepreneurial individualism like competitiveness and self-interest are regarded as natural and desirable (Friedman 2002). Lynch (2010) argues that against this backdrop and the wide berth between care values and commercial values, "care is only valued in the academy when it is professionalised" and that "caring in one's personal life is not valued" (p. 63). In these contexts, caring/care is connected to one's 'personal' life, especially with regard to family and child-care responsibilities. There is significant focus on care and caring in the context of caring duties in the home and how it is still mainly women who undertake these roles, with some arguing that they are disadvantaged by new managerialism HE practices (Grummell et al. 2009). Ivancheva et al. (2019) look at the relational and caring aspects of women's lived experiences to help them understand and highlight the gendered aspects of both labour-led and care-led precarity (ie. the lack of time for caring duties and time with their families, etc.) for women in academia.

There is also a wider debate about who is doing the caring, where it is(n't) happening, and what value it is(n't) given. Robinson (2011) highlights that the majority of the world's care work is done by women - not because this is in their 'nature', but because of the "feminisation of care in most societies around the world" (p. 9), arguing that "the

responsibilities and labour associated with care can no longer be brushed aside as a 'soft' or marginal issue" (p. 6). Whilst Robinson is not focusing on the HE context, there are similarities and examples of this feminisation of care in the HE literature where some argue that there is an unequal division of 'domestic' and care work *within* universities (e.g. thesis supervisions, running courses, pastoral care, teaching) and that the majority of this work is taken on by/directed toward women (Lynch 2010; Gajparia 2017; Lawless 2018). Reinforcing this argument, Bartos and Ive's 2019 article on the care and emotional labour involved in being a TA found that women TAs had additional labour (logistical, practical, and emotional) due to institutional sexism and that the emotional labour was exerted not just in caring duties (such as caring for an emotionally distraught student), but also in the other forms of labour that became embodied. Mountz et al. (2015) highlight another parallel arguing that care work "is foundational for teaching, learning, and transformative scholarship", yet it is often, "devalued and disproportionately cast as women's work" in the academy (p. 429).

These examples reflect studies stating that care work undertaken within HEIs has been found to be 'invisible' (Puawai Collective 2019), as well as being an emotional undertaking in itself, which is often time-consuming and gendered (Askins and Blazek 2016). This literature - mostly coming out of the EoC and SS field - brings to the fore how practices of care are being systematically marginalised within the context of the neoliberal university (Lawson 2007; Mountz et al. 2015), however, it does not speak specifically to the care and emotional labour involved in CUPs.

Emotions, identity, & emotional labour

In some respects, we can think of academics as having a 'scholar' identity and a 'personal' identity - although the distinction between the two can be blurry. Askins and Blazek (2016) argue that emotions weave through both identities of

one's personal and professional geographies, and that whilst the importance of focusing on emotions in academic work has been acknowledged as an established argument by some (e.g. Bondi 2013; Fitzpatrick and Longley 2014; Humble 2012; Smith et al. 2009), it is still contested at best, and ignored at worst, placing it outside of the core of academic work (Davidson et al. 2014). However, Askins and Blazek (2016) argue that emotions matter and are "central in and to everyday and structural conditions of our work", as well as having a role in "producing, and challenging, an increasingly normalised neoliberal academy" (p. 1088). Bondi (2005) goes further, stating that it is an ethical imperative to take emotions seriously. Bartos and Ives (2019) expand on this, explaining that this imperative suggests that "emotional labour helps expose the marginalisation and exclusion that women face, and, ultimately, the overburdening labour that they are required to perform as legitimate academic actors" (p. 782).

Of particular interest to this thesis, Wood et al. (2020) argue that engaging with difficult topics in teaching and research involving people (students and/or research participants) living on the margins is an "inherently emotional task" (p. 438) requiring relationships of care to both protect the wellbeing of the academic (notably they don't include the students or residents here) as well as "paving the way for a more socially just university" (p. 438). Heynen states that radical scholars need to "understand and internalise the pain of others" (2006, p. 925), arguing for a deep emotional commitment that challenges academia's traditional boundaries and values of staying distant and separate from one's research participants. Heynen's (2006) argument that academics need to internalise the emotions of participants could be seen as another form of emotional labour required of already overworked academics, however, Hochschild (2003) argues that it is valuing this emotional labour itself that has the potential to transform the academy into a caring and liveable space. This highlights the inherent relational aspects of care-full work and emphasises that not caring for ourselves limits our ability to care for

others (Wood et al. 2020, p. 439). Whether one purposefully internalises the pain of others or whether this happens as a natural part of this kind of emotionally-connected relationship, the concept of self-care plays an important role in attending to the emotional needs of ourselves and others.

Slow scholarship - what the literature says about it & how it's positioned in the context of HE

According to the critical scholars that I have been discussing above, in the metrics-based neoliberal university time has become oppressive and dominating (Mountz et al 2015). SS is offered in this literature as both a concept and a method, by means of which academics can examine, critique, and reframe how time is conceived and enacted in the university, as well as being a way to push back against neoliberal temporal, managerial, and audit cultures and regimes. SS literature also highlights the connections between managerialism, time, and gender. Metrics-based regimes have been criticised for not acknowledging the fluidity of how academics manage their different academic responsibilities (teaching, research, service) differently based on many things including their research agenda, interests, approach, personal lives, their location and institutional context, etc. (Mountz et al. 2015), as well as the lack of acknowledgement that these accounting measures are gendered, racialised, and classed (Gutierrez et al. 2012). Feminist theorists Federici (2012) and Jaggar (2013) have highlighted how 'women's time' has historically been seen as relational and linked to social reproduction, in contrast to the 'masculine domain' of creativity, innovation, and invention - all of which are seen as 'valued' forms of production and productivity and a 'legitimate' use of time (Young 2001). Mountz et al. (2015) relate this back to HE arguing that current structures and managerial practices in universities are "remake[ing] and reinforce[ing] academic subjectivities to serve institutional productivity in a way that entrenches the hierarchical valuation of "women's time" (p. 1242).

2.5.3. How EoC & SS are useful for this thesis - their critique of the contemporary university and key articles/frameworks

This research has been particularly impacted by the EoC and SS literature for several reasons. EoC and SS principles and practices reflect my own epistemology as well as sharing commonalities with CUPs whilst providing a largely missing focus in the CUP literature, a focus on the centrality of care and emotions, thereby making them useful lenses to apply to this research. The EoC and SS literature draws on a number of fields including radical scholarship, critical geography, higher education research, and social work, to name a few, providing a variety of perspectives from which to view the contemporary university and the role that care, emotions, relationships, and emotional labour play. Of particular importance for this thesis is the work of academics applying a feminist EoC and SS lens, who have highlighted the undervaluing of care in the audit and temporal cultures of the contemporary university. Critiquing these HE structures and cultures, they argue that barriers have been created to enacting an EoC and SS in university contexts. In addition to their critique of the neoliberal turn of universities, this literature also puts forward an alternative vision of what the university could be. These critiques and visions put forward in the EoC and SS literature and discussed throughout this chapter form the conceptual framework of this thesis.

2.5.3.1. EoC and SS

In a statement that is of particular importance to my research, Wood et al. (2020) contend that "when care is eroded from academic spaces, the dynamics underlying caring and radical scholarship are difficult to materialise as work becomes characterised by increasing pressure and isolation" meaning that "the capacity to take on radical and caring scholarship, and to do so well, is limited" (p. 430). Underlying this perspective is an important radical agenda for equality and inclusion

in society in general, and especially in the university (Askins and Blazek 2016). This is an important part of the critique of the wider impact neoliberal structures and cultures are having on care, HEIs, and those in and around them (Held 2006; Lawson 2007).

As discussed above, impacts of the neoliberal university on academics have been found to be bodily, psychological and material (Berg et al. 2016; Gill 2009; Mountz et al. 2015). Research has shown that mental and physical health decreases due to the constant pressure from performance metrics and increased workloads, as well as the stress and anxiety for those on precarious temporary contracts (Gill 2009; Morrish 2019; Mountz et al. 2015; Mullings et al. 2016; Parizeau et al. 2016; Peake and Mullings 2016; Wood et al. 2020). The individualisation of academic labour encouraged by neoliberal managerialism tends to divide academics rather than bring them together and can lead to, "exhaustion, helplessness, failure, and loneliness" (Puawai Collective 2019, p. 33). The competition generated by the commodification of HE has also intensified the competition between disciplines leading to what Harkavy (2006) calls disciplinary ethnocentrism, tribalism, and guildism (p. 14).

The literature on EoC has also helped to highlight and emphasise what they argue is a gendered element to how the impacts of the neoliberal university are experienced (Ivancheva et al. 2019). For example, women have been found to be disadvantaged by an audit culture that prioritises research outputs and productivity over different kinds of academic work, including care-full scholarship work, which is often done by women (Cupples and Pawson 2012; Parizeau et al. 2016). This is helpful when looking at CUPs, and suggests that those academics undertaking various forms of engaged scholarship may also be disadvantaged by the current audit culture.

In addition to being a useful lens for critiquing the broader contemporary university landscape and the macro-level impacts of more recent changes, the EoC lens has also been applied at the micro level. The work of Bartos and Ives (2019) provides an example of how applying a critical care ethics lens at the individual project level, helped them to understand "how power relations are negotiated, perpetuated, and potentially reframed within the university setting" (p. 781). Echoing this view, Robinson (2011) found the EoC lens helpful in its ability to reveal usually hidden power relations. Whittle et al. (2020) agree with scholars who have argued that accounts highlighting the role of emotions and affects in the university is important, as well as representing another lens from which to examine the neoliberal academy (Askins and Blazek 2016; Berg et al. 2016; Mullings et al. 2016; Loveday 2018).

Wood et al.'s (2020) article is particularly helpful for this thesis in its conceptualisation of radical care ethics in geography. In their paper, they argue that combining radical geography's social justice aim with care ethics' focus on relationality and emotions helps us better understand "what it might mean to be caring and radical academics" (p. 424). They propose three tenets as a way of combining radical geography and care ethics to formulate their term - 'radical care ethics' in geography;

> 1) Research and teaching that is committed to understanding and improving the material
> conditions of those living on the margins;
> 2) Scholarship and teaching that extends outside of academic circles to engage
> meaningfully with the lives of those on the margins; and
> 3) Attention towards the emotions of others and ourselves in ways that further a
> commitment to care (p. 424-425)

They state that they hope to push the conversation on radical care ethics in research and teaching in academia forward in

the current landscape of precarity, anger, hate, and increasing political divisions (p. 427) and argue that it has the potential to begin addressing some of the insecure and precarious situations of those surviving on the margins, as well as pushing toward 'more responsive scholarship', and perhaps most importantly, "transform our universities into more caring and socially-just institutions" (p. 425) - thereby reflecting civic and engaged university ideals.

Wood et al.'s first two tenets reflect the principles of participatory research and mirror the values and aims of many CUPs. Their third tenet adds a new dimension, that I argue is currently missing from the CUP literature, but needed when conceptualising CUPs and the care, emotion, and emotional labour they involve. Of particular salience for this research, Wood et al. (2020) also highlight that "emotions were linked to sustained ethical commitments, motivating reciprocity, and to being foundations for friendships that extend beyond initial research or teaching" (p. 432).

Of crucial importance to their ethical and relational values, Wood et al. (2020) discuss the structural obstacles they faced when trying to 'maintain a radical care ethics in a neoliberal context'. They state that "time, lack of funding, limited institutional care, and academic pressures are at times in stark opposition to the process of trying to maintain radical care ethics" (Wood et al. 2020, p. 433) - an ethic that required care, flexibility, and reflexivity, among other things. This finding reflects Giroux's (2019) argument that the neoliberal education system makes it difficult for academics to be able to connect their work to societal and civic issues, as well as the argument that HE structures disincentivise researchers from working with marginalised communities in a caring, meaningful way (Peake and Mullings 2016; Mullings et al. 2016). These findings reinforce Wood et al.'s (2020) argument that state and institutional structures, including universities, "are increasingly care-less" (p. 431).

There are various ways in which SS is a useful lens for this thesis due to how interwoven it is with care ethics and the fact that it is sometimes used almost interchangeably in the EoC literature. The transformational and relational agenda of care has a distinctly temporal dimension. Thus, like care ethics, SS is part of a wider movement seeking to understand and challenge the role, purpose, and practices of the contemporary university. Park et al. (2017) state that SS argues against the neoliberal academic business model (p. 273) by critiquing both the increased pressure to be productive, and the ensuing embodied effects that are symptoms of this model (Mountz et al. 2015). SS asks us to "rethink our own temporality" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1249) and raises questions of what counts and for whom, as well as expanding the community of care beyond the academy - all of which are central to this thesis. The Puawai Collective (2019) write about their experience of doing academic work differently by taking time to think, reflect, write and learn together, and how this process helped them build trust (p. 39). As was discussed earlier in the chapter, the SS literature highlights how crucial time is for many things - many of which are also essential for CUPs - like relationships, self-care, and reflection. This spotlight also helps to emphasise where time, and consequently care, are scarce when looking at something like a CUP. Mountz et al. (2015) see SS as being essential in enabling a feminist EoC.

The SS literature highlights the link between neoliberal institutional processes that drive competition and individualism, among other things, and the resulting mental health crisis in HE (e.g. Mountz et al. 2015; Mullings et al. 2016; Peake and Mullings 2016). This reinforces the importance of self-care, however, as Wood et al. (2020) point out, many academics work in 'silos of isolation', lacking the energy and time to develop networks of support, let alone be able to create or nurture much needed 'spaces of care', therefore they argue that there is a need for "an institutional structure that

allows and, in fact, encourages scholars to take time and space to care for ourselves" (p. 439).

2.5.4. Alternative visions of the academy

In their critique of the neoliberal university, the EoC and SS literature has put forward a number of ideas on what and how the university could be a different, more 'care-full' institution. Mountz et al. (2015) propose changing the university's current individualised and outcomes-oriented model to a space of "collaborative, collective models of community solidarity work" (p. 1249) by following a slow scholarship approach that involves "rethinking our own temporality, supporting - and facilitating, where possible - slowness among our students and tenured, untenured, and contingent colleagues" (p. 1249). This approach "allows time for care in research, in relations with colleagues and students, in lives outside of the academy, and in social justice work" (Bartos and Ives 2019, p. 780). Mountz et al. (2015) called this the collective "remaking of the university" and the "undoing [of] counting culture" (p. 1244). Wood et al. (2020) echo this and propose that by "asserting and carving out spaces of care for ourselves and others, we challenge individualism, isolation, and competition in academic work and in encounters with others" (p. 438). The Puawai Collective's (2019) strategy to resist neoliberal practices and achieve working differently included taking and privileging collective action underlined by an EoC (Evans 2016; Lawson 2007; Mountz et al. 2015; Peake and Mullings 2016), promoting "different and more care-full forms of scholarship" (Puawai Collective 2019, p. 35), and committing to slow scholarship (Evans 2016; Mountz et al. 2015; The SIGJ2 Writing Collective 2012). In order to acknowledge the embodied nature of work and the "whole person-ness of the academic" (Puawai Collective 2019, p. 35), they acknowledged and valued all forms of labour both within and outside of academia.

Amongst some key articles in this literature (including those just mentioned), authors have put forward suggested actions to take and changes to make. These include strategies for improving the lives of academics like - writing fewer emails, turning off email, and "reaching for the minimum", which is described as being "unwilling to be undermined or belittled for not conforming to hegemonic agendas that are devoid of the responsibilities and joys of life beyond the ivory tower" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1253). Whittle et al. (2020) also put forward that developing spaces and skills (including connecting with emotions) to be able to learn from failure, was crucial in resisting neoliberalism and creating what Mountz et al. (2015) call a more 'care-full' academy.

At the broader, structural level, Park et al. (2017) suggest developing a different kind of productivity metric that doesn't only rely on citation measures. They ask - "is there a way to measure what articles are used in classes or read by practitioners? What articles change the field's views, experiences, and attitudes? Can we track the most daring, most courageous pieces of scholarship?" (Park et al. 2017, p. 275). Mountz et al. (2015) build on this idea in their argument against the current and prevalent "narrow quantitative evaluations of academic work" (p. 1250), suggesting that decisions on what 'counts' should broaden when considering promotions, hirings, and tenure, among other things, as well as encouraging senior academics reviewing things like articles, grants, or promotion applications, to "applaud care-full work, time spent, and quality over quantity" (p. 1250). In Wood et al.'s (2020) vision for teaching and research, the "centrality of emotions to radical scholarship and wellness in academia" (p. 434) is recognised and nurtured.

A number of scholars have argued that an ethics of care must be inserted into the university (Lawson 2007; Mountz et al. 2015; Wood et al. 2020). More recently, Wood et al. (2020) have made suggestions for how this might be done for both

the individual academics, and for the wider caring responsibility and commitments that the university and its academics have to their local communities. At the individual level, they suggest setting up or expanding care networks and collectives for academics, students, and researchers as spaces for reflecting on the emotions involved in teaching, research, learning, and mentoring, as well as pushing for expanded mental health services (p. 439). They view these spaces of dialogue as being both 'therapeutic', and as a means of beginning to confront and hopefully change the mental health crisis in HE. They also highlight the importance of mentorship as a means of encouraging slow scholarship as well as guiding when and how to incorporate care and radical scholarship into one's work, and that senior academics have a 'relative responsibility' (Wood et al. 2020, p. 439) to help lead the proposed changes due to their job security and seniority.

At the wider level, Wood et al. (2020) propose three tenets for what they call a "radical care ethics in geography" (referred to earlier in the chapter) which are;

Tenet 1- Research and Teaching that is Committed to Understanding and Improving the Material Conditions of Those Living on the Margins. They explain this as meaning,

> where possible, scholarship should be shaped by radical ideals at all stages from the framing of potential projects, to researchers' actual engagements with participants, the dissemination and construction of knowledge, to the aftercare we provide to ourselves and others (p. 434)

Tenet 2- Scholarship and Teaching that Extends Outside of Academic Circles to Engage Meaningfully and Deeply with the Lives of Those on the Margins. They argue that,

> research and teaching exploring the dynamics of oppression is not enough if it does not engage meaningfully with the lives of those on the margins. Scholarship that remains insulated within academic circles and rarely extends into the lived geographies of marginalized groups is not sufficiently radical or caring (p. 436)

Tenet 3- Attention Towards the Emotions of Others and Ourselves in Ways that Further a Commitment to Care.

Here they argue that,

> research and teaching that engage with issues of survival are inherently emotional tasks" (p. 438) and that relationships of care are required for this kind of work in order to protect the well being of the academics as well as paving the way for a more socially just university (p. 438)

These tenets speak to an activist academic ideal, such as that made by Grey (2013) who argued that it was "crucial for academics to be involved in forms of day-to-day resistance and to establish ongoing connections to activist organisations in order to challenge the hegemonic narratives of marketisation and managerialism" (p. 701).

Proponents of EoC and SS approaches believe that they can lead to: high-quality research and writing (Mountz et al. 2015); better, more supportive working environments, and a working community that enables more people to thrive (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1254). Echoing Mountz et al. (2015), Moss et al. (1999) argued that through listening to others, getting out of the university and expanding our experiences, academics are able to then do their best work (teaching, research, and service).

2.5.5.   Critiques and limitations

Some scholars have critiqued SS as being for the privileged few, unaffordable for most universities, as well as being a kind of nostalgia for the 'good old days' when universities were not so connected to politics and the economy (Vostal 2013). Others have highlighted a potential limitation in the, 'by slowing down, you will become more productive' narrative in its

focus on the individual needing to make changes, thereby potentially adding to the pressure already felt by many academics. A reflection from one academic highlights this - "I often come away from the weekly 'motivator' emails with a sense of panic that I am a failure for not writing every day; I have to do more to become super-woman-academic" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1248). Because of the importance placed on caring for the self in order to be able to care for others, there is also a danger that the EoC approach could be seen as being akin to 'McMindfulness' which is critiqued for its focus on the individual making changes to better their lives instead of neoliberal institutions making changes (Booth 2017). However, Whittle et al. (2020) argue that central to the call for the prioritisation of care in the academy, self-care/care ethics and institutional change are not, and must not be seen as, mutually exclusive.

Other limitations put forward include the importance of reflexivity in order to be able to recognise that, "research which engages deeply and meaningfully with those living on the margins is not always possible or desirable" (Wood et al. 2020, p. 437). Some have highlighted how this kind of research can turn into 'pain narratives' that do little in the way of challenging or transforming the roots of oppression and inequality (Tuck 2009). Whilst Wood et al. (2020) argue for a renewed commitment to radical care ethics, they point out that this doesn't mean repeated documentation of exploitation and pain of those surviving on the margins under the guise of social justice. They put forward that this kind of scholarship also includes a politics of refusal (Simpson 2007; Tuck and Yang 2014). Reflexivity is important in the politics of refusal which "recognises the limits of research to bring about material change and considers when it is and is not an appropriate and desirable intervention", as well as taking into consideration the emotional toll involved in some work (Wood et al. 2020, p. 437).

Mountz et al. (2015) state that "slowing down involves resisting neoliberal regimes of harried time by working with care while also caring for ourselves and others" (p. 1253) - this assumes that one has the choice to slow down and can deal with any potential consequences. This highlights the importance of Martell's (2014) suggestion that all academics, and not just the privileged few, need to have self-determination over being able to go slow. And whilst I agree with their strategy of counting what others don't as part of resisting the neoliberal university (Mountz et al. 2015), they do not make reference to anything CUP-related.

The limitations I have identified in the Wood et al. (2020) and Mountz et al. (2015) papers are indicative of a wider trend in the literature, therefore I briefly outline my critique below. As has been mentioned above, the Wood et al. (2020) article has a lot of strengths and aspects that are of particular interest to this thesis, including its focus on the care and emotional labour aspects of being a 'radical academic' and the current barriers to working in a 'care-full' way. However, even though they state that the article is about the capacity of HEIs to support radical and caring scholars, it does not address the root causes of these structural and cultural barriers currently making things very difficult for 'radical', or engaged scholars. And whilst they join the call for the need to inject an EoC into universities, the suggestions they make for going forward - having networks and collectives of care, mentoring, and an expansion of mental health services - speak more of coping strategies related to the working environment in the contemporary university, rather than strategies for how the system itself could (or should) be changed. This is illustrated in their discussion on the key role of mentoring whereby they suggest that senior academics support and mentor new faculty on how/where/when to incorporate radical scholarship into their work, as well as discussing the realities and demands of working in contemporary neoliberal universities in order to "better ensure that they understand the character of academic career paths" (Wood et al. 2020, p. 440). Near the end

of their conclusion they do include two sentences about how tenured academics should use their positions of power to push for the neoliberal restructuring of universities (Bauder 2006), however, their conclusion comes across as being more focused on reform at individual levels, thereby undermining the critique made in the literature (including in the EoC literature) of institutional responses to the care-less university focused on individual actions instead of making changes at structural levels. Nevertheless, the Wood et al. (2020) article makes a considerable contribution to our understanding of care and emotions in the context of radical academic scholarship (including teaching, research, and activism) and in highlighting the voices and lived experiences of engaged academics. Whilst their concluding suggestions could be stronger, the three tenets they put forward - combining radical scholarship with care ethics - are particularly helpful in the broader conversation around how and why universities should be engaging with, learning with/from, and benefiting their local communities.

Resisting neoliberal practices and cultures/regimes through collective action and support is a common argument put forward in the literature (like Mountz et al. 2015; Puawai Collective 2019; Wood et al. 2020), however, there is minimal discussion about academics who may want to be part of a collective that works in a more caring and slower way but can't join because of their own workload, which may involve care-full time-intensive forms of scholarship like a CUP, for example. The literature also makes it seem that academics have relatively equal access to a 'collective'. Another limitation in some of the literature is how 'collective' tends to be used to refer to being between academics who can support one another (e.g. Mountz et al. 2015; Puawai Collective 2019; Wood et al. 2020), but it doesn't expand this out to include other potential actors, such as other participants in a CUP.

Whilst the EoC and SS literature provides powerful arguments for following a SS approach and incorporating an EoC into HEIs by helpfully highlighting how the current neoliberal university structures and cultures devalue care, emotions, and the importance of time, thereby having negative embodied impacts on academics - especially woman and PoC, they do not look specifically at how engaged academics and CUPs are being impacted. And though the EoC literature emphasises the importance of care and emotions in relationships and in radical scholarship and the wider academy, again, there is limited research on the care, emotions, and emotional labour aspects in the context of CUPs.

2.6.   Conclusion

In this chapter I have surveyed literature concerning HE structures and cultures including the temporal, managerial, and audit cultures. The literature suggests that the audit culture disincentivises academics from doing engaged scholarship, including CUPs, because of how time is counted and what is seen as a 'valuable' use of time, as well as which outputs, including for career progression, are valued. The literature also highlights the varied and serious physical and emotional impacts being experienced by a significant portion of academic staff, and posits that these impacts are a result of the contemporary neoliberal-driven characteristics of the university. The literature reviewed also emphasises the varied representations and understandings of civic engagement and CUPs, as well as the equally varied locations in which they sit within institutional frameworks. The literature highlights how varied and context-dependent benefits can be. Many challenges were also highlighted in the literature including personal challenges to participation and challenges related to institutional practices and cultures. Important themes highlighted in the literature included power dynamics and what some have argued is the inherent power imbalance in CUPs, as well as normative attitudes to knowledge production and knowledge holders and how there still exists a bias where 'experts' are often seen as coming from the academy - thereby

disadvantaging experiential, community-based knowledge. A key theme identified in the literature on the challenges involved in CUPs related to what 'counts' in the contemporary university, with some arguing that the managerial, accounting, and temporal cultures and practices are disadvantaging academics wanting to work in participatory ways, as well as making it more difficult to gain support for CUPs. Time is a theme that intersects with many of these challenges. Importantly, the literature highlighted how the time needed for the relational aspects of CUPs is in tension with the current temporal regimes of the university.

EoC and SS offer concepts that have really impacted me and my thinking, as well as being epistemically close to CUPs. Importantly, the alternative visions of the university presented in this literature are key to my thesis. EoC and SS literature is also crucial for the emphasis and value it places on care, emotions, and emotional labour. These themes, alongside the radical transformational agenda underpinning these concepts is the appropriate lens through which to analyse CUPs and how they are experienced.

As was outlined in this literature review, current neoliberal university managerial structures and audit cultures have been found to be a main driver for the mental health crisis among academic staff. The EoC and SS literature extend the literature on the impacts of the neoliberal turn of universities by highlighting how these structures and cultures have also contributed to a devaluing of care, emotions, emotional labour, and the importance of time, arguing that the impacts of the HE environment are unequal and gendered, with women and PoC being (negatively) impacted more. They provide powerful arguments for following a SS approach and incorporating an EoC into HEIs as a means of resisting neoliberal compressed temporal regimes and improving the working conditions of academic staff, as well as enabling a radical

scholarship that aims to broaden the university's impact and civic role.

However, much of this literature does not look specifically at how engaged academics or CUPs are being impacted by these structures and cultures. And whilst the CUP literature obviously focuses on CUPs, it has tended to focus on the practical aspects of partnerships, and more recently on the role of relationships, with arguments suggesting that strong relationships enable partnerships to overcome challenges and setbacks thanks to the resilience built over time. However, it has not extended its scope to the role that care, emotions, and emotional labour also play in CUPs and how this impacts those involved (especially the engaged academic). And though the EoC literature emphasises the importance of care and emotions in relationships and in radical scholarship and the wider academy, again, there is limited research on the care, emotions, and emotional labour aspects in the context of CUPs and for those involved. Whilst CUP participant voices can be found in the literature, voices of individual residents and engaged academics are minimal, representing a significant weakness in the CUP literature and I would argue, the EoC and SS literature, due to the potential loss of this knowledge which "could be beneficial in the planning and development of future initiatives" (Quillinan et al. 2018, p. 114), as well as limiting our understanding of CUPs and how they are experienced.

This thesis sits at the intersection of these three gaps in knowledge and asks:
1. How are CUPs experienced by the participants?
2. How do HE structures and cultures enable and hinder the collective and individual relationships and practices in CUPs?

3. Chapter 3 - Methodology and Methods

3.1. Introduction to the Chapter

Split into six sections, this chapter explores the origins of this research and how I fit within it - outlining my research strategy including my methodological framework and delving deeper into my positionality, feminist epistemology, and the importance placed on reflexivity, and how they influenced and shaped this study. The chapter then outlines the research I conducted, explaining what my fieldwork entailed before moving to section four on the mixed methods I used and how I analysed and interpreted the data. A discussion on ethics and the methodological challenges and considerations I faced, followed by the conclusion, form the last two sections of the chapter. This chapter not only presents the what, how, and why - it also begins to bring to the fore the messy, embodied, and emotionally connected nature of this study - themes that will also be reflected in later chapters.

3.2. Strategy

This section outlines my methodology and the methods used to conduct the research, followed by an exploration of the implications of my positionality and reflexivity and how they influenced the study. This research on community-university partnerships is situated in relation to the civic, impact and engagement agendas currently employed by neoliberal UK universities. As introduced in the literature review, the central role of care and emotion is largely missing from the civic university conversation, as well as the general HE literature. The role of care and emotions/emotional labour in CUPs is also largely missing from the CUP literature. And whilst the Ethic of Care (EoC) and Slow Scholarship (SS) literature does

focus on care and emotion, it doesn't use this lens to look specifically at CUPs or the lived experiences of engaged academics or the resident participants.

3.2.1.   Methodological framework

My research used a qualitative research strategy in order to enable a deeper understanding of the social phenomena happening in my work (Bryman 2012; Mason 2018) and utilised pragmatically chosen mixed methods that will be explained in greater detail in the following section. The research took an inductive and iterative approach whereby theory was not hypothesised but instead was generated as a result of the case study research and my own professional and academic experiences (Bryman 2016).

Crotty defines constructivism as "the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interactions between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (1998 p. 42). In this thesis I adopt a constructivist ontological orientation, accepting that social phenomena is constantly being constructed and revised by social actors (Hesse-Biber 2010), and that we ourselves are both a part of, as well as affected by, these social structures - therefore our perceptions and consciousness are embodied (Chile 2007).

I couple this ontological position with a feminist interpretivist epistemological stance that emphasises the ability of non-academics to both theorise and create knowledge from their own experiences (hooks 2000; Bar On 1993). As a central tenet of feminist epistemologies (Alcoff and Potter 1993), this represents a shifting of the power to interpret the

world that prioritises, values, and highlights the voices and lived experiences of those who have been marginalised. Collins (1986) argued that lived experiences were powerful in and of themselves and that they could challenge 'master narratives'. Other feminists argued that anecdotes are "a fundamental prerequisite to developing new understandings concerning the workings of larger political discourses and structures" (Lewis 2005, p. 12) and that individual testimonies from HE can also provide a starting point from which larger collective conversations can be had about HEIs and the people within and around them (Berg and Seeber 2016). Describing what people experienced and placing value on these descriptions "for their own sake" (Denscombe 2014, p. 101), as well as treating this data as important in its own right and not as something crude to be interpreted in order to draw generalizable conclusions - formed an integral part of this research, as well as providing a justification for its main focus and the descriptive nature of the writing style.

The way I've chosen to write this thesis- being explicit about my positionality, writing descriptively, and incorporating vignettes and stories - is a conscious choice. Bringing people's voices directly into the text where possible and not just small snippets of conversations is important because it allows the reader to gain a better understanding of this voice- this person. The inclusion and highlighting of the voices of participants in this research reflects my epistemology by privileging voices that are often otherwise not sought, heard, or valued.

Like many feminist researchers, my stance has led me to be drawn to Action Research (AR) and other similar forms of participatory methods such as Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) because of their focus on seeking, valuing and highlighting different voices, acknowledging and trying to balance inherent power inequalities in research practices (Stanley 1990), and their aims to co-design/deliver/produce research with the

participants/collaborators in an attempts to make a difference in people's lives.

Whilst I consider myself to be a feminist, and as explained above, I take a feminist epistemological stance, this research was not designed to look specifically at the gendered aspect of my topic, nor did I start out using explicitly feminist methodologies *per se*. Over time my conceptual framework shifted in response to what was happening in my fieldwork, as well as to my growing understanding of my topic in general and the feminist concepts of Ethics of Care (EoC) and Slow Scholarship (SS) - both of which gave me a language and a framework for articulating what I had already been seeing and feeling. My approach to this research naturally lent itself to an EoC and SS approach in that it was very much about attempting to build relationships through dialogue and shared experiences and emotions (Blazek and Askins 2020). I was open and shared stories about myself instead of only having an extractive style approach, which I think helped balance the power inequalities if ever so slightly, and in a way could be seen as being part of a more caring feminist approach.

My experiences in and out of education have also informed my practice as a researcher. Whilst living and studying in Bolivia I was introduced to the ideas and practices of Paolo Freire including critical consciousness, power, and that everyone/anyone can be both teacher and student - not just university lecturers and students (Freire 1970). Years later, my experience of working in a CUP expanded my knowledge about how community-based work was viewed, talked about, and (un)supported. My own lived experience as well as seeing what it was like for engaged academics around me pushing against the grain made a big impression. All of these experiences and influences have shaped who I am as a person - one facet being my identity as a researcher. More on how this specifically impacted my research will be discussed in the positionality section below.

3.2.2. Methods approach

A case study approach was chosen because of its ability to enable researchers to conduct in-depth studies aimed at understanding relationships, social processes, and experiences in a particular real-world setting in order to produce a more holistic view of the case in question (Denscombe, 2014). This supports the main aims of this research by allowing more time to focus on two institutions in order to develop relationships and eventually gain a deeper understanding of the participants' experiences and feelings toward their CUP, as well as gain a wider understanding of the projects in relation to their institutions and how university practices and principles impacted both these experiences and the CUPs themselves. These case studies fit very much within the ethnographic approach I took which included participant observation and reflective writing in order to develop a responsive framework for this research.

As previously stated, this research framework included aspects of grounded theory, such as conducting further interviews following on from the findings of the initial interviews, when and where appropriate and pragmatic, but was not a 'pure' grounded theory piece of research. Grounded theory has been defined as a "theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process" (Strauss and Corbyn 1998, p. 12), however, there is an ongoing debate about what grounded theory is and whether it is a theory in its own right, or a means of generating theory (Bryman 2016). I agree with Strauss's (1987) belief that the researcher is not neutral and will inevitably influence the interpretation of the data, as well as ascribing to Charmaz's (2014) view that the role of the researcher is that of an interpreter, rather than a discoverer, as has often been the traditional view. Grounded theory links well with the case study approach because of the shared focus of generating theory from on-the-ground research and its particular

applicability in small-scale research projects with a focus on human experience and interaction (Denscombe 2014), such as this research.

As stated above, my research has been influenced and informed by Participatory Action Research (PAR), characterised as "research that is based on a set of values that includes the promotion of equal partnerships and co-learning and an explicit commitment to ensuring research leads to, and is informed by action" (Banks 2013, p. 264). Originally I had hoped to use PAR (and/or CBPR - Community-Based Participatory Research) as the last piece of my research framework puzzle that would add the 'values glue' to bind all the pieces together. CBPR is concerned with not only focusing on practical problems set in the 'real world', but also setting out to create change via a focus on the cyclical process of research, as well as involving research participants from the community as collaborators instead of mere subjects (Israel et al. 1998; Denscombe 2014). In many senses, and for reasons explained below, I was unsuccessful in my attempt at using a PAR/CBPR approach.

Institutional requirements and restrictions involved in conducting PhD research, for example, needing to design a research proposal and methodology before even entering the field, make a fully participatory approach very difficult in that key decisions on the topic, research questions, and proposed methodology are not co-designed with the research participants. Another challenge I faced was the PhD timescale of only three years and the fact that I was seeking to work with community partners unknown to me. In light of the approach and ethical stance I wanted to take, one year to; find case study projects, develop trust and build relationships (also discussed in Chapter 2), as well as managing group dynamics all within university processes and constraints, was not long enough. Reflecting the potential paradox between being

informed by PAR, but not "rigorously practising" it (Davies 2016, p.6), what I ended up doing was learning about how the projects in my case studies used participatory methods themselves, whilst my own research was informed and influenced by the values, but not necessarily the practices of PAR.

In the following sections, I will discuss in greater detail the role that my positionality and reflexivity had on my research.

3.2.3. Positionality and reflexivity

Banks et al. (2013) believe that "all researchers need to reflect critically on their positionality and power in the research process" (p. 274) - this is particularly key when working with people experiencing marginalisation, as was the case at times during this research. I will introduce my positionality in more detail as well as how these different aspects of myself impacted me as a researcher followed by my methodology and methods choices.

Personal background and positionality

Firstly, I identify as a white hetero cis woman. This puts me in a place of privilege in terms of my 'whiteness' and my socially more 'traditional' gender identification. These privileges come in the form of how I am received and largely accepted (although not without other intersecting discriminations based on some of my other characteristics - my size and nationalities being examples) in society. For example, when I arrived at my case study locations, I didn't feel that anyone was particularly surprised by or uncomfortable with my presence. I would add that for me, my sense of power and self-worth comes from many places, one of which is from being a woman - and this is tied to my identity as a feminist. For me, feminism is part of my everyday life, and not only relegated to my methodological and theoretical toolbox that then

informs my research practice.

Another aspect of my positionality is how I grew up. I was born in France to French and American politically liberal parents. We moved to Oregon in the US when I was seven and lived a lower-middle-class life in a medium-sized, mostly white city. I learned English once we moved to Oregon and my mother continued to speak French in the house. My parents were educated - my father to university level, and my mother to certificate level (further study, but not a complete university degree). Both of my parents had lived or travelled in different countries and I remember hearing stories about their experiences as well as travelling back to France several times over a ten-year period to visit family, all of which normalised the idea of travelling and being interested in other parts of the world. Growing up with parents from different cultures helped me to gain an appreciation for different styles of communication, as well as how misunderstandings can occur from linguistic and cultural differences - sometimes leading to challenges and barriers. Misunderstandings can also occur within the same language between people from different cultures, backgrounds, genders, class, etc. where meaning differs according to one's own perspective. My own background helped me to be more aware of these different ways of communicating and potential areas of tension or misunderstandings between those I engaged with in my research.

Education and positionality

Education has also greatly influenced my positionality. I enjoyed school as a child and continued to excel through high school (in most subjects). I was bullied in primary, middle, and high school for what I looked like, but I never felt that school 'wasn't for me'. I always felt included and 'comfortable' in the school environment and was fortunate to have supportive and attentive parents who helped me when I needed it. For me, school was a battlefield in terms of how I was

treated by other students with respect to my body, but I did not feel alienated by the institution itself. I think this is an important distinction because whilst I had some awful experiences in school, I was never made to feel that I wasn't worthy of a good education or that I would never amount to anything. I had supportive teachers and parents and was influenced by the American norm that you go to college after high school, and therefore never doubted that I would enter higher education.

After taking four years off after high school to go teach skiing in Germany and Oregon in order to have a break from education and hopefully figure out what I wanted to study, I enrolled and attended the University in Oregon, eventually getting a degree in international studies and romance languages. The last year (out of six full-time years…hello student debt!) of university, I studied and worked abroad in Bolivia. My experience living with Bolivians, learning about indigenous cultures and the injustices they have experienced for centuries, as well as working and earning a typical Bolivian wage shaped my worldview including how I view the rich/poor divide, social inequalities, power/empowerment/disempowerment, the global North versus the global South, and international development versus community (local) development. This experience in 2008-2009 is what started me on my journey to England and to looking at the world through a social inequality lens. It also showed me first-hand how social change and 'development' (a concept that is very Western and means different things to different people) is often best when led by the local communities and not international or external top-down organisations.

As well as shaking up my world view, which could have been described as a narrow, naive, and an unknowingly 'white saviour' disposition, had wide implications on what I had originally wanted to do following university - international

development. I applied for a Master's degree whilst still living in La Paz, and knew that upon coming home, I no longer believed that international development was the way forward (for myself, or anyone else) and wanted to pursue studies in social justice and inequality. Interestingly, the tension I became aware of between the intersection of class, race/ethnicity, country of origin, and societal norms where I was the obvious 'outsider' in Bolivia, was replicated in the UK - the West- in ways that I had not anticipated - more on the insider/outsider challenge later.

After a year in Bolivia, I moved to England to do a Master's Degree on social and spatial inequalities in human geography in the hopes that I would learn some practical skills that could eventually be applied in a local context. As was described in the story at the start of the introduction chapter, whilst we did look at the what, where, and why of social inequalities, my course rather disappointingly never connected directly with our own very unequal city - for example, we could have worked collaboratively with a local organisation or community group. This missed opportunity and the idea that universities could and should be engaging with and benefiting their local communities did not become apparent to me until some time after my studies.

Reflecting on my educational journey, I am acutely aware of both how long I have been in some form of higher education, and how privileged I am to have been able to have so many opportunities, as well as how much these experiences have influenced my thinking and my world-view. I felt that it was important to share my educational background with you because I wanted to highlight how my own perception of the role and purpose of HE has greatly shifted in the time following my Master's degree. My research focuses on higher education, and whilst my past educational experiences have had a massive impact on me as a person, my understanding of the heart and soul of the university began to form relatively

recently out of a mixture of ideas introduced in jobs together with the serendipitous meeting of key individuals.

Reflexivity

Coming from the various positions and identities I describe above, it was crucial to be self-aware and able to reflect on my own positionality and how it influenced my research.

Bourke states that

> the nature of qualitative research sets the researcher as the data collection instrument. It is reasonable to expect that the researcher's beliefs, political stance, cultural background (gender, race, class, socioeconomic status, educational background) are important variables that may affect the research process (2014, p. 2)

Whilst I don't love Bourke's description of the researcher as a "data collection instrument" (2014, p. 2), their view of the act of examining the research process and the role of one's positionality as being reflexive, is helpful. Reflexivity is described as "critical self-awareness" (Broussine 2008, p. 36), and as developing a self-conscious awareness of the relationship between the researcher and an "other" (Chiseri-Stater 1996; Pillow 2003; Merriam et al. 2001). This important concept played a key role throughout my fieldwork and during the analysis and serves as a means to locate myself within my research (Mason 2002), as well as helping to develop my thinking in response to the findings. Working in a reflexive way can "add new dimensions to the knowledge being gathered" (Kara 2015, p. 73), and help work through challenges and questions as they arise.

My positionality impacted how I was perceived in my research by the resident participants, the students, and the academics. I needed to continually reflect on this as well as on how I myself perceived the stakeholders. As a researcher, I

am coming from a place of privilege as well as both perceived and real power. Dealing with this and trying to build relationships that were as equal as possible was very important in my work. I am very keen to not reproduce the power imbalances that I am critical of in the more traditional relationships between the university and the community, therefore I strove to work from a place of awareness and openness.

Certain aspects of my positionality and identity become more or less apparent depending on the context and power hierarchies present. My skin colour, dress, accent, size, and gender all contribute to how I am externally perceived. Whilst working with local residents on the CUP as well as for my thesis research, I was often seen as being linked to the university and maybe perceived as having more power than the residents. However, when I am in the university, I often feel less-than because I am more interested in working with communities than writing articles or discussing theory. I remember having a passionate discussion with two colleagues about the civic university and that to me, working in and with communities in research and teaching was an essential part, and their response was basically - 'oh yes that's all nice, but surely it's not the priority in our work'. Reflecting other academics I've heard, my two friends perceived engaging with local people in teaching and research as the 'soft stuff', or the extra work that isn't 'core' to what academics do, especially within the context and emphasis on universities being 'global'. In this way, I very much feel like a 'boundary-spanner' between the university world, and the community. I feel I have some purchase in both worlds and that I can serve as a sort of 'translator' between the two, but that I do not fully understand or 'fit' completely in either.

Another challenge aided by utilising a reflexive practice was the inherent insider/outsider dynamic (see Brown 2012) present in my research. My positionality and identity as a foreigner, a non-local, an academic, a white woman, etc.,

inevitably set me apart from my research participants. However, my position shifted depending on the context and was not clear-cut or obvious. For example, on one hand, I could have been perceived by some resident participants as an 'insider' due to being a PhD researcher. On the other hand, I could have been perceived as an 'outsider' by those working in my case study institutions. The positions of 'insider' and 'outsider' are in a constant state of flux and are experienced differently depending on the who, what, where, when, etc. (Naples 1996).

Indeed, people occupy multiple identities, some visible, others not (Gunasekara 2007). Some aspects of my identity are easily legible, for example, my whiteness and gender. Other aspects are less so - the fact that I am French-American (you can't tell that I am French as I no longer have the accent), and that I have a learning disability meaning that I process and retain information differently than neuro-typical people - is not obvious. Feminist theorists write about this fluidity of positionality and how, "identification practices partially fix subjects into positionalities – but it is an inadequate fixation" (Ahmed 1997, 164). Therefore, it was important for me to continually reflect on how the shifting of my (and my participants') identities and positionalities impacted interactions, how and what data was collected, and how it was later analysed.

3.2.4. Implications for research design

I am a people person who learns through doing, therefore I wanted to choose methods that not only fit my research questions but also reflected my positionality and my skill-set. As I was interested in understanding people's experiences, feelings, and perceptions, I felt that interviews combined with observation were the best way of eliciting this 'data' within the context of my particular research focus and the practical constraints present. My experiences as a community

development worker and a community organiser helped me develop my ability to chat with people I had just met, and quickly establish a rapport that led to the beginning of trusting relationships. I think that this ability to connect with people and put them at ease was very useful when interviewing, especially during shorter site visits where I wasn't able to spend long periods of time getting to know all of the participants.

My positionality influenced my methodology and both benefited and challenged the research process. Indeed, my research questions stem from what I experienced and later what I did not find in the literature - the largely missing voices of resident and academic CUP participants as well as a lack of focus on the time-intensive relational aspects and the disproportionate strain some engaged academics are experiencing under the current UK HE system. The way in which I designed my research was in part a representation of who I am as a person as well as how I situate myself within it. For example, I chose to take an in-depth approach in order to build relationships and trust with the participants. The importance of relationship-building and trust reflects my training in community organising, as well as my personal values and feminist epistemology.

Another implication for my research methodology is a combination of my positionality and my learning style. I learn most effectively through doing and also believe that as a researcher, I am an interpreter at best, and that participating in the projects I researched helped me to better understand how they were experienced by the participants - a bit like being able to briefly see through the many different 'lenses' or eyes of my research participants and friends.

Photo 3. Camera lenses, stock photo

As Rose (1997) stated, using participatory methods well involves time, patience, and reflexivity - all of which can be

challenging for both the researcher and their own positionality within their field. Whilst I did not use participatory methods as much as I would have liked, the fact that I was heavily influenced by their values and ideals means that I too experienced this challenge that Rose was referring to. I would argue that it was at these more difficult intersections between my positionality and that of my participants, the unease that came from critiquing the very thing that I deeply believe in, and feeling lost at times - that I had some of my biggest insights.

3.2.5.   Conclusion of research strategy section

I have written an in-depth account of my background and how this has impacted my positionality and by extension, this research. I did this because I believe that the researcher cannot separate herself from her research and therefore, her background, education, professional, and personal experiences shape how and why a subject is chosen, researched, interpreted and analysed. Wood et al. (2020) talk about the importance of "opening ourselves up and sharing our vulnerabilities in our classrooms and research sites to build situated solidarities" (p. 432), something that Nagar (2014) calls radical vulnerability. I see the sharing of my past, including some of my vulnerabilities, as being part of my feminist ethic and practice, as well as perhaps allowing the reader to feel a sense of connection with me, and my research.

Growing up in two countries in a bi-cultural and bi-lingual household, my experiences in school as well as my extensive period in HE, living and working in Bolivia, and finally my time here in England, have all played a big part in shaping not only who I am as a person and a researcher, but also how I view the university and its role in its local community, engaged academics, and the potential of CUPs. This means that like Doucet and Mauthner's (2008) critique of 'neutrality' and 'bias', I acknowledge and highlight that I am not a neutral researcher. Ledwith and Springett state that, "reflexivity is

central to the process of becoming critical" (2009, p. 18) - something I have tried to keep at the fore when reflecting on my shifting positionality whilst in the field, as well as during the interpretation, analysis, and writing up of my 'data'.

The following section will give an overview of the research I conducted and how I went about doing it.

3.3.   Overview of Research Conducted

3.3.1.   Introduction

As you are now aware, my journey to this research was not a straight shot - it unfolded over a number of years through different experiences and connections whereby I learned about, saw, or experienced a variety of different kinds of community-university engagements. Case Study typologies will be discussed below, as well as the eventual criteria for inclusion. This section will also explore one of the paths I meandered down which led to a case study that never was. The last section will explain the sampling and rationale for the case studies, followed by a brief introduction to the two case studies that *did* happen.

3.3.2.   Typologies of community-university engagement, eventual criteria, and what didn't make the cut

Typologies

The types of community-university engagement vary greatly depending on the institution, discipline, and location. There is also a multitude of terms used to describe various types of projects and partnerships between the university and the outside world. In addition to this variability, it also became clear to me exactly how *unclear* community-university

engagement is in terms of where it sits within each institution (as discussed in the literature review section 2.4.5). The difficulty this presented for my research in terms of finding appropriate case study projects is illustrated in the field diary excerpt below.

Case study selection reflection (excerpt from field diary)

I have been surprised by how difficult it has been to find potential case study projects that fit my [initial] criteria - ie. they work with local residents who are preferably from more excluded communities, they are fairly long-term, are collaborative (not consultation or a Festival of the Mind kind of thing…not 1-way), and they include some kind of an academic component and are not purely voluntary for the students. One of the things I realised is how varied the terminology and meaning of these terms is within community-university projects. In my search I looked for projects under the banners of engaged learning, civic engagement, public engagement, and community-university partnerships. What I realised is that each institution understands these terms and projects differently and that there is not a shared definition or terminology of community-university projects. This made searching for these projects very difficult and largely unsuccessful.

My personal experience of working in an engaged learning project within a wider engaged university strategy suggested [to me] that it would not be too difficult to find projects within my own institution. There appeared to be a fairly large group of engaged learning projects spanning the social science faculty. However, upon my investigation I found that much of this network is no longer active and that websites/webpages are no longer there.

I also had a previous link to the University of Brighton's Community University Partnership Programme (CUPP), but have since found out that they have drastically reduced their staff and perhaps their direction of travel. Whilst there are still projects going on in CUPP, it has proven difficult to find one that fits my criteria and isn't already overrun with researchers because they are so well-known and have strong links with their local communities.

My assumptions that it would not be too difficult to find many community-university projects to choose from for a case study have been severely challenged. I also assumed that certain terms like, community-university engaged project would be viewed and used more or less similarly across institutions, but this is obviously not the case.

What this suggests is that CUPs in the UK are still developing and that the level of development greatly differs across the academy. It also highlights the lack of a shared vocabulary and understanding of this kind of work.

The kinds of CUPs I investigated or personally experienced include different kinds of relationships. For example;

- **Public Engagement**: typically 1-way exchanges where the university shares its knowledge with the public in various mediums and methods (e.g. U of Sheffield's Festival of the Mind). Often the public is the 'receiver' - not a 'contributor'.
  - This could be seen as a form of = Doing *To*
- **Transactional/consultancy**: example - live architecture projects where students meet with 'clients' to find out what is needed, and then go away to produce something that is later presented to the client. There is collaboration involved in this process but arguably, not co-production. There is also much less emphasis and focus on developing a relationship and an agreed communication style between the students and the client.
  - This could be seen as a form of = Doing *For*
- **Volunteering**: students volunteer in the community with no academic component. Often the student is the contributor, and the organisation/place/etc. is the receiver of the action.
  - This could be seen as a form of = Doing *For* (typically)
- **Community-Based Partnerships**: academics (and sometimes students) work with local residents (or a community group, for example) on something mutually beneficial (can be research, teaching, and/or 'civic'/service). Ideally involves all stakeholders in the decision-making process.
  - = Doing *With* (ideally)

The (eventual) criteria for inclusion in the case studies

Reflecting on the project I had been involved in and following my search for potential projects, I settled on three criteria that I felt were most appropriate in terms of addressing my research questions;

Table 1. Criteria for Case Study Selection

1. The CUP will be community-based (as opposed to larger city-wide or regional partnerships) and include local residents, preferably from disadvantaged or excluded communities, and they can, but don't have to, include students
2. The CUP can be research, teaching, and/or community-led/focused
3. The interaction between the university and community stakeholders will be substantial enough for a relationship to have developed between the stakeholders. This could be built either through intensive collaboration over a shorter period of time (for example over 3 months), or engagement over a longer period (e.g. 1 or more years, or even indefinite partnerships)

The 'third' case study that never was

Before I get into the two case studies that I did have in my research, I will first briefly explain how I almost had three case studies and how PAR fits (or doesn't) within this.

Initially, I had hoped to have a case study where I was based so that I could spend a lot of time with the participants, getting to know them, the project, and the various dynamics within it. I had hoped to do 'proper ethnography' in a case study and also to incorporate PAR methods with an aim of somehow affecting change and working toward a socially just outcome. In order to do the deeper work I'm describing, I needed to live or stay in the case study locations for months or years, not only weeks. I had hoped that my previous connections would help to make this happen in such a way that I not only would have found a suitable project, but I would already have had some form of a relationship with those involved - thereby helping to cement a partnership within the timeframe of my PhD.

Indeed I did conduct fieldwork for this third case study which was more focused on engaged learning and the student perspective from two departments - Urban Studies and Planning and Architecture. I attended meetings between a community group and academics, interviewed students, and observed student workshops, presentations, and reflection sessions. Unfortunately, various challenges arose which meant that in the end, I could not pursue this as a case study. Interestingly, but not unsurprisingly, the challenges I faced represent common situations faced by many who work in and with communities, as well as those working in CUPs - uncertain project development (the project I was hoping to be a part of was developing slower than anticipated), gatekeeping, and territorialism (ironically, from another PhD student) that in the end made it so that I could not work on the project due to tensions and power struggles.

Because of this turn of events and the key things that emerged from my two case studies which focus more on the resident and academic experiences, I decided to not focus on the student experience in this thesis (however they will be mentioned because they are part of the research situation). And whilst I was not able to have a case study in Sheffield where I could have used PAR in practice - for example, perhaps co-investigating, and co-analysing the data using creative methodologies - I *was* able to have two case studies that had very exciting projects and differing contexts, practices, and outcomes - all of which offered a range of very insightful stories that will be explored further in the thesis.

The following section will explain sampling (who I spoke to and how I reached out to them) and the rationale (the why) behind how the case studies and participants were chosen followed by a brief description of the case study projects and my initial interactions with them.

3.3.3. Sampling and rationale & brief descriptions of the case studies 'that were'

Sampling and rationale

This research utilised a generic purposive sampling method (Bryman 2016, p. 412) for both the case study locations and the sampling of participants, meaning that the selections were not random, but were chosen due to their relevance to the research question as well as which projects and participants were available to take part. As mentioned in the fieldwork snippet above, I searched for CUPs across the UK and emailed various projects asking about the possibility of doing my research with them. From those who responded, some were already over-run with researchers or their project(s) were finished, and others weren't sufficiently active for me to be able to observe and take part. Luckily I did find two project leads who were willing to have me, and who also fit my case study criteria.

Many of the participants in my research were included in the observation of the case studies including the academics, students, and of course, the local resident participants, although some were interviewed only. I had hoped that the chosen projects would work specifically with people from excluded or disadvantaged communities, however only Case Study 2 did this specifically - Case Study 1 worked with a wide variety of people, albeit in a ward with high levels of deprivation (according to government statistics). I acknowledge that the 'socially excluded' or 'disadvantaged' criteria can be problematic as it is subjective and also a sensitive subject (understandably) for many, however, it was included because I was keen to explore the experiences of people who differed from the more 'typical' residents I've seen engaging with the universities- people from middle-class backgrounds who appear to be more comfortable in these situations and environments.

Interview participants were largely found through my connection with the project leads or the project manager. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I met with both case study lead academics (as well as the project manager in Case Study 1) in order to learn about the projects and to begin developing a relationship with the project leads. It was through these relationships that I was then able to 'access' (a term I don't like to use because of its transactional nature, but somehow still fits) the resident and student participants. In this sense, my way 'into the community' was through the 'gatekeepers' of the projects who then used their networks and regular forms of communication (emails, WhatsApp, regular meetings, etc.) to reach out to and make introductions between me and key residents, academics, and students. This brings benefits as well as potential challenges.

The benefits of going through the academic leads and/or the project staff included saving me a lot of time - I didn't have to do my own search trying to find out who the key residents, students, and academics were - some of which would have taken a considerable amount of time getting to know the community (both inside and outside of the university). Another benefit of being introduced to people through the project leads was that it gave me a bit of clout, and I think people were more likely to respond compared to had I emailed them directly. However, this also brings up potential conflicts and challenges.

By being asked by the project leads if they would be willing to chat to me, participants could have felt pressured to do so. They also perhaps could have felt that they couldn't be as critical or open about any negative feelings they might have had about their experience(s) and the project(s) because; they didn't want to offend me since I too represented the university;

they might have worried that what they shared with me would get back to the project leads; or they might have felt they were somehow being unfaithful to the project or the leads by doing this. Elements of this unease show up in my conversations with people, for example, there were several instances of residents saying things like - 'the university has been amazing and they've worked so hard, but…', however, I think I was still able to hear a variety of experiences encompassing positives and negatives. This was helped by interactions and interviews with several people who had differing views and weren't suggested or introduced to me by the project leads.

The sample size was small and targeted due to the nature of in-depth case studies and my epistemological and methodological approach. Tables laying out the specifics of what my fieldwork entailed are in section 3.4 below.

Case Study 1 - how it all began

Pink University and Milton Ward

I first reached out to Team Pink (TP) after hearing about their success in winning a top national award for community engagement. I read about the project and was intrigued by its place-based aspect and its involvement of students and local residents. I soon heard back from the team and began conversing mainly with Bethan, the project manager, telling her more about my work and eventually deciding on dates for me to come visit that would work for us both. Following three months of waiting for my ethics approval and the USS strikes to come to an end, I arrived in the city of Hills, full of excitement and a few nerves as well.

TP is a platform of projects that defines itself as being a pathway between Milton ward and the university, helping to

broker and launch co-produced projects that involve research, live teaching, or volunteering opportunities. It forms part of Pink University's (PU) civic strategy and is resourced and largely supported across the institution. TP now has a purpose-built building in Milton for both the community and the university to use for its projects, activities, and events- in this way they are bringing the university *to* the community. The projects run by TP range from one-off events, to long-term partnerships such as a youth forum. They also incorporate live teaching across different disciplines into the platform. TP will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Case Study 2 - initial contact

Blue University **and the Sparrow Ward**

Unlike Case Study 1, this project is not part of a wider institutional civic strategy, but is instead the result of one individual academic, Liz, working in a long-term and continuing partnership with a group of residents in the neighbouring Sparrow ward. This individual academic utilises PAR methods to train a small group of local residents to be community researchers (CRs) and together they investigate issues that have been a challenge in the area in order to seek to affect change.

I reached out to Liz, an associate professor at Blue University (BU), following a recommendation by one of my supervisors who had met her and thought that her work with local residents would be of interest to me. Indeed it was! Following several emails and Skype conversations trying to clarify what I was looking for, what Liz's project entailed, and whether Liz and the CRs would be willing and able to have me, I was very warmly welcomed by Liz and her CRs on my four separate visits to Sparrow, a ward situated not far from BU in the city of Rivers. The evolution of the project will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.4.   Methods

This research took an iterative approach - constantly moving between data and theory and back (Wimpenny and Gass, 2000). Multi and mixed-methods approaches were used in order to triangulate the findings from the different methods, thereby increasing the validity and giving a more holistic picture. Denzin defines multi-method as "the combination of methodologies that enables analysis from multiple perspectives and at multiple levels" (1978, p. 291).

This section includes two tables - each containing the specifics of what I did in each site, followed by a description and review of the methods used to conduct this research. See Appendix 2 for a list of 'Participant-type Codes', as well as a full list of pseudonyms of the named individuals who took part in my research (along with their participant-type code). The review will include a discussion on my ethnographic approach including the techniques I used; observations, interviews, 'hanging out' and 'chats', co-produced stories, fieldnotes, document analysis, and how they went in practice.

Table 2. Summary of Case Study 1 Visits

Case Study Site 1 - Pink University	Visit 1: April 23-29, 2018	Visit 2: July 27- Aug. 3, 2018	Visit 3: Oct. 21-26, 2018
Interviews (**code*** of participant-type and ***quantity*** ** of interviews**)	**RP* - 2**, A- 5	RP- 2, A- 2, S- 1	RP- 1, A- 2, S- 2

'Chats' (# in total and with whom)	15 - 20 with: professionals (P), students (S), residents (including kids) (R), academics (A) not (yet) directly involved in the CUP	15 - 20 with: P, S, R (including kids)	15 - 20 with: artists involved (P), (S), children (R) taking part in a project with the university students
Observations (who or what was observed)	-2 meetings with outside partners -2 trainings/workshops for university students involved in the CUP -2 public events part of the CUP -the CUP team (individually and as a team) -students	-steering group meeting -CUP team meeting -a community project -the community space	-seminar on social value of architecture for the students (those involved with TP) -academics, students, and artists planning session for a workshop with local school children -the workshop with those school children -the evaluation session of the above

Code of Participant-type: R = resident, RP = resident (CUP) participant, A = academic/university staff, P = professional, S = student

Table 3. Summary of Case Study 2 Visits

Case Study Site 2 - Blue University	Visit 1: Dec. 4-5, 2018	Visit 2: Feb. 5-9, 2019	Visit 3: April 29 - May 3, 2019	Visit 4: May 13-18, 2019
Interviews (participant type code and # of interviews)	0 - this visit was an introduction to the project and lead academic, Liz	R- 1, P- 2, A- 2	R- 3	R- 3, S- 1, A- 1
'Chats' (# and with	13-15 with: community researchers (CRs), residents (R),	15-20 with: community space users and staff (R),	10-12 with: students (S), community space	20-25 with: CRs, meeting attendants (A

whom)	Liz (A), Jack (A), council workers (P)	CRs, Liz (A)	users (R), CRs	& P)
Observations (who or what was observed)	-AGM of a Women's Learning Centre that Liz (A) has been working with -meeting at the Council b/w Liz (A) and the 2 council workers (P) most involved in the project	-community space -CRs weekly meeting -community space organisation AGM -Liz	-teaching award ceremony where Liz won an award -lunch with Liz -dinner with Liz -community space	-CRs involved in co-producing impact stories -a UKRI/NCCPE meeting about future funding for Uni-com work

Code of participant-type: R = resident, A = academic/university staff, P = professional, S = student, CRs = community researchers (clarification note - 'community researcher' is used here instead of 'participant researcher' because this is how they refer to themselves, therefore I wanted to honour this)

3.4.1. Ethnographic and mixed methods approach

As mentioned above, my research took an overarching ethnographic approach, utilising observation and participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, and just spending time with my 'participants' - something that the anthropologist Clifford Geertz called Deep Hanging Out (1998). Geertz did not explain his method in great detail other than to describe it as, "localised, long-term, close-in, vernacular field research" (1998). My own research consisted of time spent with my participants, many of whom became friends, in their homes, places of work, walking together, eating together, volunteering in their events or projects, and taking part in their daily lives. I conducted more traditional interviews and observations alongside more responsive, creative methods. As stated previously, whilst this was not a PAR piece of research *per se*, my practice and ethic was very much informed and influenced by participatory methods and ethics. Below I will explain in greater detail the methods I utilised, why they were chosen, and how they functioned in reality.

Observation and participant observation

As you can see in Tables 2 and 3 above, I observed and participated in a wide variety of activities including student workshops, meetings with outside partners, team meetings, community events and activities (and even an award ceremony). These occasions allowed me to observe the interactions and dynamics within and between resident participants, academics, professionals, residents (not directly involved in the CUPs), and students. I recorded my observations in diary entries - both digital and on paper, as well as writing subsequent entries once some time had passed. I found that reading through my field notes and then reflecting on what had occurred and how I felt about it led to some rich insights.

Mack et al. (2005) describe observation simply as observing and documenting an event or behaviour whilst remaining an outsider. Participant observation is defined as a "method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time" (Becker and Geer 1957, p. 28). The line between purely observing and having some form of participation is often blurred (Bryman 2016), therefore both will be discussed in this section as I employed both forms.

These methods stem from a traditional ethnographic approach whose aim is to help researchers in their quest for understanding what life is like for their study populations from an 'insider's' perspective, whilst still remaining an 'outsider'.

The data obtained from observations can serve as a kind of check between what people say and what people actually do, thereby allowing the researcher to see how and if actions reflect what is expressed verbally (Mack et al. 2005), making this a useful method to pair with interviews. Indeed there were instances when a participant would say one thing, for example (paraphrasing) - 'oh yes...we have reached out to everyone in the community', but upon further discussions with other participants, or members of the community, it became apparent that this was not entirely correct and that established connections and networks had been used and therefore they kept missing the same people who were not part of these networks.

Another benefit of participant observation is its aim of producing holistic research data that can be seen as layers of depth including the wider social, cultural, and economic context, and the more focused layer looking at the relationships between and among those involved, their ideas, and how they view their own context (Denscombe, 2014; Mack et al., 2005). This is particularly helpful when the research is aimed at exploring and trying to understand the lived experiences of something like CUPs.

Mack et al. (2005) state that not only is participant observation used to, "facilitate and develop positive relationships among researchers and key informants, stakeholders, and gate-keepers" (this was very much the case for me in both sites), it can also "provide information previously unknown to researchers that is crucial for project design, data collection, and interpretation of other data" (p. 15). This highlights the need for an iterative and inductive approach so that new information coming out of observations can be incorporated into subsequent research design. For example, upon realising that time was a big factor in the experiences of some of my participants, I added more questions around the concept of

time and also looked out for how not having enough time was especially impacting the lives of the academics.

Interviews

Berg defines interviews as a "conversation with a purpose [...] to gather information (1998, p. 57). Bryman states that the qualitative interview is the "most widely employed method in qualitative research" (2016, p. 466). There are two main types of interview - structured and unstructured (or semi-structured) - the first being rigid and replicable/standardised, the second being more fluid and responsive to the interviewee and therefore emergent, forming part of an iterative process. Interviews are used to "elicit individual experiences, opinions and feelings", and to "address sensitive topics" and are helpful in discerning the 'why', and not just the 'what' (Mack et al. 2005, p.30). Interviews most often take place in a static location and involve a researcher asking their participant a set of questions related to their research project or study. However, how these interviews are conducted has begun to vary more and more over time. Different interviewing methods provide an alternative to the structured or semi-structured qualitative interview that is typically conducted inside a building with few possibilities for creativity. Kusenbach (2003) argued that (sit-down) interviews limit the researcher by not allowing her to observe a participant in situ, thereby missing how that individual experiences place. Whether an interview takes place in an office, or on a walk, I agree with Doucet and Mauthner (2008) who argue that there are limitations in interpreting interviews because in feminist epistemology, neither the interviewee nor the interviewer can ever be fully known, and when analysing data, one needs to recognise that interviews are social constructs that are themselves shaped by power.

Below I describe in more detail the approach I took which included interviews, 'chats', 'hanging out', and the less

traditional co-produced impact stories - methods I utilised which evolved over the course of the project.

The interviews I conducted were semi-structured (recorded and transcribed) to unstructured (some recorded, others I took notes either during or after) with the process being dependent on the participant and shaped by what best suited the individual and the situation. For example, in some cases, I was invited to conduct the interviews in the community-university space/building, a cafe, the university, or at their place of work as this was likely most convenient for them and perhaps they felt more comfortable in a familiar space. On several occasions where I had spent a fair amount of time with the participants in the university or project environment, they then invited me to their homes on my subsequent visits so that we could continue our conversations. More on the unstructured interviews that I have termed as 'chats' will be discussed below. The aim of the interviews was to explore and try to understand how the community-university projects were experienced by the participants, for example; how they had gotten involved, what they did, what worked and didn't work, how they felt that their participation in the project(s) had impacted them, as well as how they perceived the university's role in communities. An example of the interview questions can be found in the Appendix 3.

Chats (on the move and *in situ*) and 'hanging out'
In addition to observations and interviews that tend to be conceived of in a static way, I also employed a mixture of talking to people on the go, as well as following them between contexts, chatting and observing as we went, and also 'hanging out'.

Mobile interviews or interviewing whilst walking/driving/travelling/etc., stems from the 'new mobilities' paradigm of the early 2000s that was interested in researching and understanding "people on the move" (Bryman 2016, p. 477). This new paradigm is interested in looking at the everyday experiences of people and focuses its attention on the "journeys themselves as important in place-making practices" (Ross et al. 2009, p. 606). Physically moving with the participant- also called 'go-alongs' (see Carpiano 2009 for a helpful overview of the method) - to the places they chose, chatting to them about why we were going there and why they'd chosen that route/stopping point/etc., helped me to be able to embody this shared experience, thereby giving me a much richer understanding of that individual's lived experience, thus fitting in very well with the focus on the participant's experiences in this research. Go-alongs are described as either accompanying participants "on outings in their familiar environments", or interviewing the participant whilst they give the researcher a tour of their neighbourhood or local context (Carpiano 2009). The latter version has been found to have the potential of reducing some of the typical power imbalances found between interviewer and interviewee because it is the interviewee who is leading the way, making decisions on when and where to stop and what to focus on (Carpiano 2009).

I would say that what I did most often, however, were 'situated chats' whereby I accompanied people as they went about their daily lives, asking questions as and when. Some of these questions were directly related to my own research, whilst other questions were to better understand the person and/or the context. In some instances, this differed to some understandings of go-alongs where the movement and direction of the conversation are led by the participant because whilst they dictated where we were going, I tended to lead the direction of the conversation. As mentioned above, I tagged along and observed meetings, workshops, training sessions, seminars, community activities and events, and an award ceremony among many other things (see Eriksson et al. 2012 for a similar, albeit less interactive, example of their

approach - 'shadowing', from Bruni et al. 2004). As well as observing during these occasions, I often also had the chance to have informal chats with people both directly and indirectly involved in those events. Some of these chats were centred around just getting to know people, whilst others had a bit more of a direction. I would sometimes ask light-touch questions about the university. Some of these light-touch chats led to future interviews, whilst others just helped me to form a picture of my case study site and its context.

As well as tagging along with my research participants, I also hung out in the two community spaces that played pivotal roles in each case study site. Walmsley (2018) and his fellow researchers' interpretation of Deep Hanging Out is helpful in describing what I was doing - "immersing oneself in a cultural, group or social experience on an informal level" (p. 277). I see a slight differentiation between 'hanging out' and 'observing' in that I consider an 'observation' to be of a specific (usually pre-)identified event - for example, a meeting between stakeholders, or a workshop. 'Hanging out' for me was more about choosing a space and seeing what happened. Spending time in these spaces, observing how they were used and by whom, how people interacted, how the spaces felt, sounded, and smelled (Pink 2015) speaks about this in her book on sensory ethnography) all helped to ground me in the context that was my research 'site'. It also allowed me to chat with people naturally as they came and went. I informally chatted with parents, grandparents, children, people on their own, people working in the centres (the community spaces each case study university used as a 'base') - basically anyone who was willing to speak to me. These chats were often initiated by me, but not always. People were sometimes curious about who the new person was and about where I was from (my accent being a dead giveaway). In these discussions, I sometimes would eventually ask about the projects I was researching or what their thoughts were on the university running the projects. Other times I would follow their lead and not necessarily touch on my direct lines of

inquiry.

Field notes and reflective diaries

As part of my research process I produced copious field notes that included descriptions of the environment and the event at hand, who was present and how people related to one another, interesting conversations, gestures, or actions, or anything I found interesting or surprising. Eriksson et al. (2012) speak of the importance of field notes in how they are part of the researcher's sense-making and interpretation, and therefore will inevitably have an impact on the research findings. Like other scholars who argue for reflexivity (see Ledwith and Springett 2009), Eriksson et al. go on to state that the researcher must practice reflexivity in order to be able to understand the impact of one's field notes and analysis has had on their research findings (2012).

My own field notes varied in format, length, and focus depending on the context. Recording my observations and chats in situ was the most accurate way I had of recording details - however, this often was not possible or convenient if I was doing something with my hands or if I was participating in an activity and needed to listen in order to interact. Taking notes whilst observing people can also be a barrier between you and the 'participants' by making people feel like they're part of a lab experiment somehow. If I was somewhere where having a notebook out was too obvious, I tended to write reflections later. One limitation to keep in mind with this method is that what is recorded is based primarily on "the researcher's own interpretive framework" (Carpiano 2009, p. 266), highlighting again the importance of critical reflection.

In addition to notes from 'the field' (ie. things linked to the case studies), I also wrote reflective diary entries where I

recorded and reflected on encounters and experiences with academics, conferences, workshops, meetings, etc. that had to do with the university somehow- all of which informed my knowledge and understanding of for example, HE, how CUPs and civic activities are viewed in different institutions and by different people both in and out of academia, the real and perceived challenges and barriers of engaged scholarship, and much more.

Co-produced impact stories

In addition to the above methods I also developed a simple, but more creative and co-productive way of capturing the stories and experiences of three resident participants in Case Study 2. This idea came about following numerous conversations with the academic lead, Liz (A) and after I had met the community researchers (CRs). Over the course of multiple chats Liz explained that having the stories of some of the CRs would be useful for her and the project when she had to apply for funding (which was frequent) or when seeking support from her department or the wider institution as it could be used as 'evidence' of the project's impact. In the time I spent with Liz, observing and moving with her from meeting to meeting to community event to…it became apparent that she barely had the time to do her teaching, administrative, and community-based work, let alone get to sit with her CRs with the sole focus of producing a document that captured their experiences and stories. As part of my own research ethic and in line with PAR and care ethics, I wanted to be able to reciprocate the time and generosity shown to me by the people involved in my research, therefore I suggested that I work with a few of the community researchers (CRs) to co-write their stories. In considering my limited time in Rivers as well as various personal challenges happening in some of the CRs lives, Liz suggested three people who she thought would be up for taking part as well as people who had been part of the project for a significant amount of time.

In terms of what guided our conversations, in many respects, the questions that were helpful for Liz and her need to demonstrate 'value' to her institution (this concept will be explored further in the Discussion Chapter), were very similar, if not the same as some of the interview questions for my research. So in a way, these stories were an extension of my interview questions, however, the outputs from our chats differed.

As I mentioned, I had already interviewed and/or met and chatted with community researchers (CRs) Colleen, Jenna, and Avery before we began working on the impact stories, therefore we had already established a good rapport and a sense of ease and openness. This was helpful for several reasons - I felt that I could ask them questions quite freely, and I think the CRs felt comfortable enough with me to begin to open up about their thoughts and feelings in a way that perhaps wouldn't have been as candid or so forthcoming had we never met. Our shared rapport also meant that we could feel our way through the process, trying things and seeing if they worked.

We wrote the short impact stories over two visits - before the first visit I had sent them my list of questions (informed by my conversations with Liz and her needs) so that they would have time to think about what they wanted to say, as well as asking them to think about or to bring photos or objects that meant something to them and/or represented different parts of their lives.

On the first visit, I asked a lot of questions, recorded our chat, and took notes during our discussions. The conversations naturally strayed from my questions, which I encouraged, meandering to subjects that were important to the women.

Following the first visits, I re-listened to the chats and sketched out preliminary stories with their answers, as well as any follow-up questions or topic areas I wanted to explore in the next chat. On the second visit, I showed them the preliminary stories to check for understanding- had I correctly interpreted what they had said? After making any needed changes, I then acted as a scribe, adding to the sketched out stories whilst sitting next to the women, typing their phrases verbatim. I wanted them to be able to speak freely and not have to worry about having to type or write things down. I also wanted them to be able to see what I was writing in real-time so that they could direct me- they were in charge of their stories. They also chose the colours of the text and background, as well as photos and images they wanted to represent them. Each of the stories was shared with the authors, as well as with Liz.

The process was really enjoyable, I think for all four of us. From my point of view, I loved getting to know these extraordinary women, being welcomed into their lives, and I felt very privileged to be able to do this with them. On reflection, I think that CRs Colleen, Jenna, and Avery also appreciated having the time to think about their journey, where they came from, and what they were doing now with their lives, and how their project had impacted their lives and their community. As a method, it proved mutually beneficial for all parties involved and helped me to fulfil my ethic of care to those who helped make my research.

A possible limitation of the impact stories is that they were always going to be public so that Liz could use them to get more support for the project. I was open and honest with all three women about what would be helpful for Liz and why and they were all comfortable with this. The possibility of these stories being used publicly obviously impacted how much Colleen, Jenna, and Avery were willing to share about their lives, especially in terms of anything personally sensitive, or

anything negative about the project.

I did encourage them, however, to reflect on how they felt the university had impacted the project and whether there was more that the university could do to support their work. This distinction allowed them to differentiate between the project and the university. For example, they had a lot of positive things to say about the project itself but felt frustrated that Liz wasn't better supported by the university - all three saying that Liz should be given more time to work on the project. Another limitation of this method was the length - for the stories to be useful for Liz, they had to be short and snappy. However, there is nothing stopping the authors from extending their stories for their own purposes. I also gave Liz a template of the layout and the questions I asked across the three stories with prompts of how people could be creative and change/add things so that any current or future community researchers who were interested could write their own impact stories whenever they liked.

Document analysis

As part of my process I reviewed relevant documents and websites such as university websites, project websites, marketing materials, and project reports. Some documents became known to me as my fieldwork progressed therefore I took an iterative approach and reviewed documents/websites as and when, continually helping me to better understand the two case studies. This was a 'light-touch' approach to document analysis that allowed me to follow up on various things participants told me, for example, the engaged academic in case study 1 who spoke about photos of her project being on the university's civic strategy webpage. It also provided me with a glimpse of how each university presented and positioned some of these projects to the public.

3.4.2. Benefits and drawbacks to my approach

Utilising a blend of methods and approaches allows for more flexibility and responsiveness to the ever-changing context at hand. In recent years there has been substantial literature exploring the practicalities and effectiveness of mobile and *in situ* methods (see Bell et al. 2015; Kaley et al. 2018; Osborne and Jones 2017). I agree with Carpiano (and would include deep hanging out as well) who found that the go-along method was compatible with and indeed complements more traditional methods such as (sit-down) interviews and observations (2009). Mobile and in situ methods not only, "enable researchers to engage with embodiment and emotion at diverse temporal scales" (Foley et al. 2020 p. 515), they also allow the researcher to assess how participants respond within a particular space, place, and time. Put another way, mobile interviewing and being situated in the research context directly responds to the interconnectedness of place and self, and allows the researcher to interact within the context of the participant's lived experience (Ross et al. 2009).

In addition to being helpful for the researcher, mobile interviews also allow the participant to reflect on the place and space while in situ- something that was useful in my interviews when I asked the participants to think about how they felt about the university and its role in the city and in their community. I interviewed/chatted with university participants and community participants in both contexts - in the university and in the community which meant that in some instances, participants had the opportunity to reflect on my questions whilst in their own place of work or community, and other times they would be in the other context. In the case of the 'key participants', I often had the opportunity to ask them similar (or follow-up) questions in both contexts, providing me with a rich insight into how they perceived their experiences and the university across place.

Like all methods, there are limitations and weaknesses that need to be considered. For example, ethnography is time-intensive for the researcher (and the participants to some extent) due to the centrality of relationships and participation. Another potential challenge (especially for someone like me who struggles with memory) is needing to rely on the memory and diligence of the researcher to write down all necessary information (Mack et al. 2005). This also highlights what was discussed earlier- the fact that what the researcher chooses to include or exclude in ethnographic reflections and writings is shaped in part by their positionality and will subsequently be subjective, even within 'academically rigorous' frameworks (Bourke 2014; Braun and Clark 2014).

There is also an inherent aspect of uncertainty involved with mobile methods meaning that the researcher must be prepared to be flexible and responsive to her participant(s). Methods that allow the participant to make choices like in some go-alongs, begin to create space between researcher and participant for a more equal power dynamic that Abell et al. (2006) cite as being inherently unequal. However, this power 'rebalance' relies on the participant being confident enough to take the lead and make decisions- something that not every participant possessed, and something that I had to be continually aware of.

How the data, including interview recordings, transcripts, and these field notes and reflective diaries were used and analysed will be explored in the following section.

3.4.3. Analysis and interpretation

I start from the position that analysis, or meaning-making, occurs throughout the research process rather than being a separate activity carried out only after the data is collected. In ethnographic research there is a need to be flexible in order to respond to findings as they come, adapting and redesigning research when appropriate, all of which result in diverse bits of data made along the way from conversations, web searches, observations, collected bits of paper, photos, literature read, etc. - much of which then ends up in field diaries, transcripts, scribbled notes on paper, visual diagrams, and so on. Crang and Cook (2007) talk about how, "the 'analysis' of this informally constructed 'data' is likely to be via an informal process of piecing things together, figuring things out, gaining focus and direction as the research unfolds" (p. 2). They also state that the choices we make throughout our research - which methods will be used, the changing of research aims and questions, deciding who will be involved in the research, etc. - reflect a process of initial sense-making and analysis, meaning that our data is not 'raw', but constructed (Crang and Cook 2007, p. 3).

In addition to the ongoing process of meaning and decision making, there did, however, come a point where the collection of materials - my transcripts and interview recordings, field notes and reflections - needed to be combed through and ordered in some way so that I could begin to make sense of it all. I began the thematic analysis by doing a mixture of re-listening to the interview recordings and reading through the interview transcripts and reflective notes several times in order to remind myself of the context and the emotional landscape of the interactions, look for patterns, as well as to see what stood out to me. In line with feminist thought on the interconnectedness between power and what gets included/excluded in the analysis process (Braun and Clark 2014), the themes and codes I ended up choosing did not emerge out of my data as if by magic, instead they slowly stood out to me based on my positionality and my focus for this

research. When a theme did eventually stand out to me, I would add the new code to my list, as well as a highlight colour when appropriate. In subsequent readings of my data, as well as literature in general, I would write the code or use the highlight colour on my notes/transcript/article. I was then able to collect the various pieces of data and literature for each code or theme and copy and paste them into separate documents.

In addition to this coding process, I also wrote what Strauss called theoretical notes (1987) - noting down the connections that I started to see both within my own data and between my data and the literature. These were helpful in helping me develop my ideas, as well as seeing where and how my data, the literature, and my positionality intersected. My positionality very much influenced how I reflected upon and analysed the many interactions, conversations, and interviews I had with people over the course of my research. I agree with the feminist epistemology that argues for a move away from analysing from a fixed standpoint, and instead aims for, "objectivity that privileges contestation, deconstruction, passionate construction, webbed connections, and hope for transformation of systems of knowledge and ways of seeing" (Haraway 1988, p. 586). I realise that I am constructing my own interpretation of the data, or the 'truth' and that I must continually question how this came about. I reflected on my 'data' by writing my thoughts and feelings in order to try to understand it and in this way I was also able to follow how my thinking evolved over time. As a reflexive researcher (Hertz 1997) I cannot simply report my research findings without acknowledging my own role in it - this, and my feminist epistemology, is why I wrote extensively about my positionality and also why I chose to write this thesis in first person.

In the next section, I will discuss various challenges I experienced during this doctoral journey including ethical, practical,

and personal - some of which crossed the boundaries between all three.

3.5.   Ethics, Challenges, and Considerations

University ethics procedures

Like all university research, I went through my university's ethical review process which included submitting and getting an ethics application approved before conducting any fieldwork. Obtaining consent to participate was of utmost importance, as well as making sure that the consent form and information sheet were accessible. Upon looking at the university's suggested forms, I decided to adapt them by making them shorter, using clearer language, and adjusting the layout (see Appendix 5 and 6). The data was anonymised by using pseudonyms and changing various details to make it harder to be able to identify a participant (for example how many children someone had, or where they were from) - confidentiality and anonymity are discussed more below. Data protection procedures were followed, including password-protecting any devices that had data from this research, as well as keeping anything in print that might have had any personal information or identifiable data in a locked drawer when not in use. I was also very careful to not expose my participants to unnecessary or disproportionate levels of risk and made sure to check in with them to make sure they were feeling ok in any instances where a conversation seemed a bit difficult.

In addition to the ethics procedural aspects, research comes with a set of ethical and methodological challenges and considerations. Below I summarise the ethical challenges I encountered including; my struggle with mutual benefit and the distance between principle and practice, the unease I felt when deciding what was included and excluded in this thesis and how my voice is representing the experiences of other people from different positionalities, as well as issues around

anonymity. Section 3.5.2 briefly explored some of the personal challenges I experienced including being pushed out of a case study and the simultaneous joys and difficulties of developing emotional caring relationships with one's participants, and 3.5.3 outlines some of the practical challenges from this research.

3.5.1.   Ethical challenges

Mutual benefit

In learning progressively more about PAR, feminist epistemologies, and the ethics of care (EoC), I became almost hypersensitive to the potential and very real ethical challenges present in research, especially when seeking to work with often ignored communities. In learning more and more about UK HE and its current neoliberal institutional practices as well as reflecting on my own experiences as an academic staff member, my hypersensitivity to ethical challenges became even more acute as I then worried about potentially burdening my academic participants by inadvertently contributing to their workloads. Whilst my knowledge and experiences highlighted some pitfalls and challenges in social research which at times felt quite overwhelming, it also helped me to develop a high standard when reflecting on and critiquing my own research as well as others' work.

Reflexively speaking, I was concerned about whether and how I could make my study mutually beneficial. Mutual benefit is an important principle in PAR and also formed part of my epistemic stance, which I had hoped and intended for it to extend to my methods. Throughout my research I often reflected on its changing shape, and how I ended up doing more 'traditional research', ie. spending short periods of time somewhere to conduct interviews versus being able to spend long periods of time doing a participatory ethnographic study. I desperately wanted to avoid doing extractive 'drive-by

research' - a phrase which refers to "studies conducted by researchers who are only interested in their own study (i.e. usually collecting a survey) and, whether intentional or not, provide nothing in return to help the community" (Carpiano 2009, p. 267). Unfortunately, due to not being able to spend longer periods of time in each site (the reasons are expanded upon in the practical challenges section), I don't feel that I was able to benefit the projects or the individuals taking part as much as I would have liked.

Taking people's time was another big concern not just for me, but also for the project leads who were very aware that their resident participants were regularly sought out for interviews by students, organisations, and researchers like me. Both the university and the resident participants in Case Study 1 had already experienced burnout because of how popular their project/platform had become. Taking people's time was especially problematic with the resident participants who volunteered and were not university employees or professionals who were able to speak to me during their work time. In these instances, I felt that I was often not able to give as much as I received.

I did, however, attempt to do what I could within the time constraints I had such as helping with community events in Case Study 1 including helping to set up and tear down a big annual community consultation, as well as supporting university students involved in the project who were facilitating workshops with school children on a different site visit. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, in Case Study 2, three community researchers collaborated with me to write their impact stories. This was a wonderful process that I think was beneficial to the three researchers, as well as for Liz who will be able to use the stories as evidence of the impact of participating in the project when applying for funding or seeking support from university leadership. In fact, the impact stories are on the university website, thereby adding to Liz's portfolio of

'impact'. The stories are also on the website of the community organisation connected to Case Study 2 which I hope will help the project recruit new community researchers - one of the main needs that came out of my discussions with them. Whilst I am glad that I was able to 'give' and not only 'take', there were elements of my fieldwork that I felt were more extractive than I would have liked. For example not being able to co-produce my research questions or the interview questions and not having the possibility of being embedded in each project.

Speaking for others

As discussed throughout this chapter, I had to make decisions on what to include or exclude, emphasise or lightly touch upon in my data and the literature - all of which are connected to power and questions of legitimacy. Speaking for others feels very uncomfortable for me, especially when my identity and positionality don't 'match' that of someone I'm referring to. Tuck and Yang (2014) point out how some social researchers have commodified narratives of pain and exploitation and how we must challenge this by,

> cultivating a research politics of refusal' and ask: 'Who gets to know? Who gets known? Where is knowledge kept, and kept legitimated? What knowledge is desirable? Who profits? Who loses/pays/gives something away? Who is coerced, empowered, appointed to give away knowledge? (p. 3).

How could I begin to understand the perspectives of those with different positionalities or speak with any kind of legitimacy about their experiences? Harding (1991) helps with this ethical challenge by arguing that through listening and learning from and with people in communities and positionalities dissimilar to your own, as well as reflecting on how this new learning relates to your own knowledge, new knowledge can be acquired and articulated.

Anonymity

There were two issues surrounding anonymity. The first is related to the fact that my case study projects are relatively small, and therefore there is the possibility that any of the participants reading the published thesis will be able to figure out some of the pseudonyms, even after altering characteristics (some things like project roles are key to the narrative and context and are difficult to alter). The other issue was around the 'choice' of anonymity. After speaking to someone from a community organisation who had worked on a lot of CUPs, he was adamant that participants should have the option of NOT being anonymous. He gave two reasons for this; one was that he and his organisation wanted to be credited for the work that they had done because they recognised that whilst they had made significant contributions to the debate on the way in which universities can and should be benefiting and engaging with their local communities, they were often not recognised for this contribution due to university ethical processes; the other reason was wanting to have the ability to call out practices and universities that they felt weren't holding up their end of the bargain. Following this chat, I decided to change my participant consent form and give my participants the choice of anonymity.

What I realised was that whilst some of the participants didn't want to be anonymous, they had to be in order to protect their jobs due to potential conflicts with the university should they 'name names', therefore this wasn't really a 'choice' for everyone. This was a frustration for both my participants and myself because it felt like a missed opportunity to call out some of the practices and injustices happening in universities that are portraying an incomplete picture of their commitment to the civic and impact agendas and otherwise benefiting from the work of those in my case studies. Another challenge with giving the option of anonymity or not occurred when some participants wanted to be anonymous amongst others that were indifferent- this meant that everyone had to be anonymised in order to protect those who did want to remain anonymous.

3.5.2. Personal

The focus of my research puts me in a strange place - I am critiquing an institution from within the very same institution. In my thesis, I explore the contradictions, frustrations, and at times the limitations of being in this peculiar, yet privileged position. This position and my multiple identities - researcher, student, community development worker, etc., and their accompanying needs and responsibilities felt at times like they were in contradiction with one another - pulling me in opposite directions - was my allegiance with academia or with the community?

Of course, allegiances are never black and white and we inhabit different identities simultaneously (Gunasekara 2007). The line between professional and personal relationships is very blurry for me. I was very fortunate to have connected really well with several of the participants, especially Liz in Case Study 2 and Bethan in Case Study 1. I also became friendly with some of the other participants who were so generous with their time and their openness about their lives, struggles, joys, hopes and dreams. I couldn't help but feel connected to them in what Evans (2016) refers to as 'more than research relationships' (p. 2013), as I too shared about my own life and my own challenges and dreams. Whilst this is in line with my personal ethic and epistemology, it also presents its own set of challenges. For example, trying to keep a sense of critical distance.

As time went on I became aware of a sense of unease I felt regarding how close I had become to some of my participants and how these wonderful caring ties, also brought with them feelings of uncertainty with regards to how I would represent them, and whether I was being somehow unfaithful or two-faced if I wrote anything other than positive. Down

et al. (2006) talk about how interpersonal dynamics in the field can lead to uncomfortable emotions and how this will have an impact on how data is collected and interpreted. Eriksson et al. (2012) refer to this idea and reflect on how they had been uncomfortable by some strong negative emotions they experienced as a result of a fractious dynamic between them and one of their participants. Whilst my unease came not from fractious relationships or negative emotions toward my participants, but from our friendships and connection, never-the-less, my emotional connection did undoubtedly influence how I conducted, and subsequently interpreted my research. This strong emotional connection also presented a challenge in terms of distinguishing my voice and critique from the voices of some of my participants. Time and a reflexive practice have helped me keep a critical distance in order to be able to critically engage with my data.

3.5.3. Practical

As I explained in the 'Case Study that almost was' section, I was pushed out of a potential case study in Sheffield due to territorialism. This loss was a deep frustration because with it went the possibility of long-term embedded ethnography and more participatory and creative methods. It also meant that I would have to travel to other sites - something very costly due to needing to pay for accommodation, subsistence, and travel. It was for this reason and family commitments that I couldn't move to a different city for months in order to conduct fieldwork.

Another practical challenge was the mismatching of schedules. When searching for potential case studies I found some that looked ideal but only happened during certain times of the year and with my relatively short window of time, this meant that I could not pursue these potential case studies.

Another practical, and I would argue a common, challenge I experienced was people not responding to requests to meet with them for an interview or chat. People have many legitimate reasons for not responding or wanting to take part in someone's research - some of which were touched upon above in terms of taking people's time and not being mutually beneficial. I found that I had more responses from people in professional positions and unsurprisingly, they tended to be more willing to speak to me because they were able to do so as part of their professional capacity, and therefore during work hours.

3.6.   Conclusion

This chapter is split into six parts - introduction; research strategy; overview of research that was conducted; methods; ethics, challenges and considerations; and the conclusion. The research strategy outlined my research questions and methodological framework which includes a constructivist ontology and a feminist epistemology, as well as exploring how my positionality and reflexivity influenced this study. Section three described the case study criteria and how it evolved, as well as the sampling and rationale for the case study choices, followed by a description of the initial interactions with the case study sites. Section four introduced the methods I utilised as well as recounting how things went in practice followed by a summary of this study's analytical approach. Section five highlighted the various ethical, personal, and practical challenges and considerations that occurred in this research.

My epistemological stance along with the research questions translated to my methods choices. And whilst I was unable to do ethnography and PAR in the way that I had hoped, the approach I took in both conducting the research and analysing the data were deeply influenced by and drew from these methods/approaches. For example, doing the impact

stories, going to participants' homes, building relationships and hanging out with people, participating and lending a hand with events, including the voices of my participants in large chunks into this thesis, etc., all reflect this influence. Challenges and ethical considerations are part and parcel in all research projects. The approach I took - not separating myself and my life and worldview from my participants and getting to know some of my participants quite well means that I felt invested in both case study sites and also led to some really rich data that I don't think would have emerged had I not taken a feminist ethnographic approach.

Ethnographies, like all methods, have their benefits and their drawbacks. But I think that Crang and Cook (2007) make a very good point against a common critique of ethnography stating that

> ethnographies may lack the apparently 'concrete' results of other methods (with hypotheses proven or not), but an honest and serious engagement with the world is not a failure because it admits that things are messier than that and tries to think through the various complexities and entanglements involved rather than to deny them (p. 208)

The ethnographic stance I took brought to the fore the messiness that is HE, research, community-university partnerships, and the people who inhabit all of these spheres. My topic, methodological approach, and findings shine a light on aspects that have mostly been unseen, and consequently under-valued in the current literature.

I will close by saying that I recognise the contradiction that whilst I am critiquing aspects of HE, including the value it places on specific forms of what I would call inaccessible writing - both in terms of the dense and complicated wording, and the cost - I am also simultaneously producing this kind of output (although I hope this is more legible than the many academic articles I've come across), and benefiting both myself, and the institution I'm in. However, whilst PhD criteria

and conventions have dictated much of how my thesis has been written and presented, as well as how my research was conducted, I have tried to push boundaries where I could, resulting in what I hope are small spaces of resistance, creativity, and kindness (see Puawai Collective 2019 for another example of this). Throughout the thesis, I also draw on and include my experiences of being embedded in both community and university settings as a way to navigate and draw meaning from these experiences and contradictions.

In the following two empirical chapters, you will finally get to dive into the frame to meet the main characters of this story to hear about the projects and the lived experiences of those involved.

4. Chapter 4 - Case Study 1: Pink University and Team Pink

4.1. Introduction and Context

Split up into six main sections Chapter 4 is the first empirical chapter and looks at the intersection between the lived experiences of CUP participants in Case Study 1 (CS1) and HE institutional structures and cultures. The introduction sets the scene and begins with a reflective story from one of my observations followed by a brief description of the city and university in question. Section two describes the case study and explores one of Pink University's (PU's) civic strategy flagship projects - Team Pink (TP) - where it came from, its aims and ethos, what it does, where it sits within the institution, and who is involved. The following section recounts what was happening when I visited and what I did during each visit. Section four introduces the principal characters and explores how the main participant groups - residents and university staff, experienced the CUP they were involved in. Section five precedes the conclusion and unpacks and expands upon some of the findings from the previous section and examines how HE structures enabled
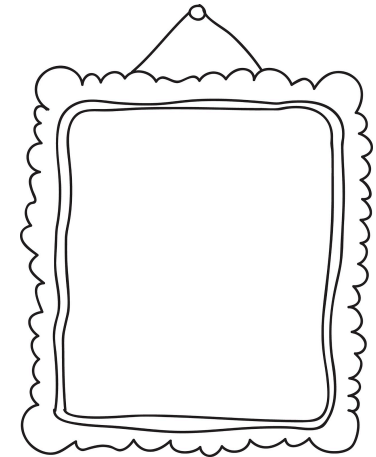
and hindered the relationships and practices in these CUPs. The stories of some key resident participant and academic voices with lived experiences of these projects are highlighted and privileged by including their words throughout the chapter - both within the text and in vignettes. A distinguishing factor in this case study is that there is a TP staff team, meaning that they are able to share both the practical as well as the emotional load. The slow, long-term, place-based approach taken by Team Pink appears to have been key in the ensuing development of relationships, trust, and participation both within, and outside of the university. Whilst Pink University has leadership and strategic support and resources, as well as recognition internally and externally, this chapter brings to light the continuing challenges still experienced by the key actors against a backdrop of neoliberal metrics-based university drivers.

> **Legend**
> Purple text = resident voices
> Blue text = Academic / university staff voices

4.1.1. Case study city ('Hills'), university ('Pink University'), and ward (Milton) - what are they like?!

Hills was a small town in SW Britain until the late 18th/early 19th century when its prominence grew due to its port and coal mining. During the industrial revolution, the city, population, and wealth continued to grow quickly as industries including steel and iron expanded. However, like many industrial cities, Hills fell into a long decline as a result of increased competition, WWII, the later closures of many of the pits and factories, and the resulting loss of jobs and livelihoods. The 1980s and 1990s saw both economic decline and the beginning of regeneration and redevelopment and a large growth in the service sector from the late 1990s onward. Today Hills is a fairly large urban city with a relatively strong economy dominated by the service sector (with only a small percentage of manufacturing jobs left), cultural and sporting

attractions, and several universities. And whilst on the whole, the city appears to be relatively prosperous, there are marked disparities of affluence with certain areas having high levels of deprivation.

Among the city's anchor institutions is Pink University (PU), established in the late 19th century as a very small university that grew exponentially over the years. PU is a publicly funded research-intensive institution that is part of the Russell Group and includes three colleges that house over twenty academic schools as well as a number of research institutes. The university's strategic plan includes its vision which aims to be world-leading and have excellent research and teaching, as well as being driven by curiosity and creativity in order for them to fulfil their obligations- social, cultural, economic - at all levels; locally, nationally, and internationally. They state that they take a 'public good' approach to engagement which is then embedded throughout university functions, disciplines and life. To achieve their vision they are focusing on five sub-strategies; education and students, civic mission, international, research, and innovation- and they state that by fulfilling their vision they expect to improve their standing in university rankings.

Of most importance for this research is PU's civic mission which, according to them, has been informed by how the government has defined 'civic mission' as encompassing: "action for the purpose of promoting or improving the economic, social, environmental or cultural well-being [of the area]". According to the university website, its civic mission focuses on working with schools, doing impactful research, engaging with communities, contributing to the economy, and being proud to be from the region. The strategy also highlights how they are striving to be recognised for excellence in their civic mission activities. TP is listed as one of the examples of the university's engagement in their Public Benefit Statement and is also the 'face' of the civic mission sub-strategy webpage where the only photo on the page is of TP,

suggesting the project's importance in terms of forming part of how PU evidences their civic impact and engagement locally.

The district of Milton was chosen as the location for TP's place-based community-university partnership in part because it is one of the largest and most culturally diverse wards, as well as being one of the most deprived wards in SW Britain (further reasons for this choice are discussed in section 2). Milton sits about two miles away from the university campus, so is not a direct neighbour, however, there are bus links between the two areas and it is easily walkable for able-bodied people. Walking around Milton I noticed a transition from the campus area that had big grand impressive buildings and a beautiful park across the street, to a place that had a distinctive neighbourhood feel. It was very much a residential area with terraced houses lining the streets and a variety of shops on its high street. What was visible was more litter, and a fairly lively area with people of different ethnic backgrounds walking around, going in to take away shops, the local grocers, or just hanging out and chatting outside. Milton has community spaces, both large and small retail shops, several parks, two small train stations, 2 small post offices, many places of worship of different faiths, and many schools. Needless to say, this ward is indeed very large and has a variety of amenities.

The following section will give an account of Team Pink (TP), one of Pink University's (PU) flagship civic projects and will explore how the project came to be, its aims, ethos and guiding principles, what the project entails, and how it works. It will then outline where TP sits within the institution as well as its drivers, followed by an introduction to the TP team - who they are and what they do.

4.2. Case Study 1 Description - why, what, how, where it sits in the institution

4.2.1. History and genesis

To understand this 'project' we must go back in time a little and look at how the project came about. It's 2012 and raining in Milton. Sinead (A), an academic in PU, is standing around chatting with other local parents after dropping their kids off at school. This post-drop-off chat had become a common occurrence and seemed to be enjoyed by all taking part. However, as is rather common in Britain, sheets of rain would often make this time to speak to other parents in an informal and friendly manner a bit difficult. This loose group of parents living in Milton eventually decided to look for a space that would meet their needs - somewhere that was close, gave shelter from the elements, and had a bathroom. They did not find anything obvious that met their needs but did find a potential option - an old hut that stood empty. They approached the council asking if they could use this hut. The council rejected their request because they weren't a constituted group and instead suggested they use a disused pavilion nearby.

At this point, the loose group which included parents and a couple other local residents including a local artist, had formed into a Pavilion Action Group (PAG), but they didn't want to take on a building on their own. The main issue for the action group was that they, "couldn't get money without the building, and they couldn't get the building without the money" (local artist), so they were stuck. Around this same period, Sinead was participating in a leadership programme launched by Pink University's (then) new VC as part of PU's new civic strategy. This year-long leadership programme brought together eight early-career academics from across the university together with professional services leads to monthly

meetings where they learned about all the different sectors in the university as well as being tasked to come up with a project. As a group, Sinead said that they, "proposed that the university commit long-term to a geographically defined neighbourhood and that we go in with no objective other than to find out how we could work with the community" (A).

Sinead stated that she felt that the leadership programme had never intended to develop *real* long-term projects. She felt that the programme had been thought of as an exercise whereby university early-career academics would gain the experience of understanding and utilising the university's varied and multiple 'parts' (estates, procurement, administration, etc.) within a short-term experimental project. However, Sinead and some of her fellow programme colleagues felt that this was an opportunity to develop something real and lasting - which is what she then set out to do.

This initial phase of the leadership project had small pots of money for each participant that they in the end, decided to pool together to cover the costs of holding consultation events in Milton and some small bits of marketing and flyer printing throughout the year. According to Sinead, the aim of the consultations was to find out if anyone in the community wanted to work with the university, what people's perceptions of the university were, and what ideas they had about ways of working together. Following this period of informal and then more formal consultations, events, conversations, and relationship building, it became apparent to Sinead, her colleagues, and the PAG that there was sufficient interest from the local community. In addition to these consultations, two student interns worked over the summer conducting a literature review on current community-university projects in the US and the UK, as well as gathering information on the demographics of Milton, identifying current services and projects, key issues, and trying to find out what had worked, what hadn't, and why.

The outcomes of the consultations and the student intern's work demonstrated to the leadership group that in addition to interest from the community, there was also potential for both the community and the university to benefit from a partnership which also utilised a physical hub. Sinead said that the decision to use the Pavilion, "was never kind of an idea that just went straight to [the] Estates [department of PU]. So it began with residents identifying the building" (A). All of this was then included in a business case that was later pitched to the university executive board (UEB) as one of four potential flagship projects for PU. The pitch to the UEB took place in 2014 and was successful with Team Pink being awarded £300,000 funding for three years.

At the beginning of the project, TP came into it without an agenda and spent the first year getting to know the community in Milton, building relationships with local residents, business owners, and schools. Through a mixture of informal and more formal engagements - like an 'ideas picnic' where people were invited to come to the Pavilion for some food and informal chats where ideas for potential projects or ways of working were shared - TP began finding out what the community wanted and needed, helping them to develop a direction for what the partnership and project(s) could entail.

Team Pink (TP) is not actually one project, but more of a platform of different projects that take place in Milton and PU. The platform involves research, teaching, and volunteering (or civic activities) which all aim to be based on long-term, mutually-beneficial relationships that have evolved over time. TP defines itself as being a pathway between Milton and the university, helping to broker and launch co-produced projects. The aims and specifics of what they do will be discussed below.

4.2.2. Aims

According to their website, TP strives to allocate resources to themes selected by Milton residents, serve as an intermediary between the community and collaborating academics, enhance awareness of skills and resources accessible at PU for Milton residents, and collaborate with the community to pinpoint research, teaching, and volunteering opportunities that align with local needs. They are also in the process of re-building a physical space to use as a base for community-university activity and community use. In an interview with TP's project manager Bethan (A), she stated that in her view, TP's overall aim is to, "help to make [Milton] an even better place *through the co-production of projects* that fulfil either a research, live teaching, or volunteering opportunity criteria and very much for the mutual benefit of both the community and the university". Bethan also added some broader aims that include, "helping to better the economic, socio-economic and the environmental status of the community [in Milton]".

TP is driven by the needs of the community which have been split into seven themes or priority areas that were identified in earlier consultations with the community. These themes include things like clean streets and green spaces, provision for young people, community spaces, shopping and working locally among others, forming a framework that all the ensuing projects have to link to in some way. Interestingly, the pavilion represents a theme - community space, a project - residents and students from Architecture and the Business school worked together to explore the possibilities for the old and eventually the new building, as well as being the site where some of the other projects take place.

4.2.3. Ethos & principles

Team Pink (TP) cite the following as their principles; long-term partnerships, community-led initiatives, building support for existing services/projects and not reinventing the wheel, combined community and university expertise or resources, and positive and practical results at different levels.

TP's ethos stems from an early conversation with a resident who said, 'we want a relationship, not an affair' - I think this sums up their stance on the importance of *partnerships* instead of just short-term one-off *projects* where the relationships end when the project ends. As well as a focus on sustaining relationships beyond an event or a project, they also aim to have a university lead and a community lead in each of the projects so as to attempt to equalise the power imbalance often found in community-university partnerships (that are in reality, often led by the university). More on how this approach is working in reality will be explored later in the thesis.

Another important aspect of the project is the idea of place and space in the community. As an architect, this was really core in Sinead's (A) view - "I think because I'm an architect, I couldn't imagine it any other way, I couldn't imagine not having a physical presence in the community".

Sinead also wanted to be able to let things develop organically - in a more experimental way as this is how she was trained - "you try things out, and if they don't work, you try again but in a different way". This, however, did not initially resonate with the ethics committee who did not like the lack of structure or plans. Following a suggestion from a fellow academic, Sinead changed the language in the ethics proposal to a more 'academic' sounding description that included grounded

theory, which was then approved. This experimental method or ethos also didn't seem to match Sinead's leadership colleagues who were from different disciplines and seemed to be more focused on debating theory and methods and who often defined themselves by their chosen philosophers or methods. Sinead didn't want to get pinned down to any particular methods or theories, but instead, she wanted the project to be practice-led. In that sense, TP in its current incarnation could still be seen as fitting loosely with Sinead's view, whilst having built-in scaffolding that helps to structure and guide the many different projects that are now part of TP. The different projects are still very much experimental - for example, there is a seed fund for local residents to be able to try out an idea to see if there is interest from the community and the university, and to check its viability. The structure comes in the form of a set of guiding principles and aims centred around listening, equal relationships, mutual benefit, community-focused, co-production (so DOING), and experimentality. What this structure looks like in practice will be explored in more detail below where I introduce what TP does by giving a few examples of various projects.

4.2.4. What they do, where TP sits within the institution, and drivers of the project

Because TP is not one project, but as they have stated, is a platform of projects across the university with many different community groups and residents, TP acts as a broker between all of these stakeholders. The TP team works to support and bring together academics, residents, and community partners who may be able to work together. The team have come to know many different academics and their subject areas across the university and are able to put them in touch with residents who are looking to work on a project of shared interest. They are also a 'go-to' resource for academics hoping to work with the community as TP thanks to having built up a wide network within Hills and in particular, Milton.

"I found it really interesting at the beginning of the project where some of the academics [involved in the leadership programme with Sinead]...*were perfectly willing to spend most of the year thinking about what they would do and planning what we would do and then go to do it, whereas I just wanted to rent a space a go and talk to people"*

-Sinead, CS1 lead academic

TP's website, which appears to be quite 'stat-heavy' (more on the significance of this will be explored later in this chapter), states that their ongoing projects, "have led to introductions to over 60 organisations who together have delivered over 122 different community activities to 2,600 [Milton] residents". To date, they have run 23 live teaching projects (I observed live projects in the Architecture department) with 133 students across 15 academic schools at PU. Some examples of their projects include a youth club, a 'shop local' campaign (in collaboration with PU's Business School), street parties, a community garden project, mental health support days (in collaboration with PU), projects with local schools (also connected to various university departments), and careers advice days. As stated earlier, TP's projects span a wide variety of topics, length, depth, and set-up (including whether they are resident, research, or teaching-led).

Some projects are strongly resident-led, meaning the resident(s) comes to TP with their idea and asks for support. This support can come in the form of small seed-funding grants to get a project going, having project administrative support, having student volunteers help out, or being put in touch with an academic who wants to work collaboratively. Many of these projects tend to fall under the civic category within what TP does whereby a community event is put on by a local resident with the help of student volunteers and some administrative support. Some of these activities aim to get local people interested in taking part in a longer-term project that might involve research or teaching, whilst some just want to try something out and to benefit the community. Some examples of resident-led projects are street parties, a community cafe inside the pavilion, a world food day that happens several times a year (and collaborates with the Business School), and reviving the local 'Milton' Newspaper.

From what I can gather, the research element in TP has so far either emerged from a community-based project, or it has

been focused on the pedagogy involved in live projects. As Bethan (A) states, "it never works if you just go down and plonk yourself there and go, 'I want to do this, who's going to help me?!'". TP recognises that this more traditional form of 'researching on' doesn't work very well for long-term partnerships. Having the time to develop relationships prior to research happening is an important part of how they work (as well as an ongoing challenge in terms of justifying it to university managers - something that will be discussed later in the chapter).

Teaching-led activities like collaborations between Milton business owners and modules in PU's Business School and Sinead's architectural Vertical Studio modules are the third main type of project in TP. In architecture, some of the modules are short 2-3 weeks for 1st and 2nd-year students, or 5-6 weeks long for more advanced students (both are offered every year). These modules offer students a different experience by using experiential learning through working in the community with residents or schools on a short project. I observed one of these projects with 1st and 2nd years. A small group of students and local residents were trained in appreciative inquiry in order to prepare them for when they were going to interview residents at TP's yearly consultation event. The aim of this project was for the students to pair up with a local resident, conduct a consultation together and then present their findings back to the residents. This feeds into TP's overall aim to have their project priority areas be resident-led.

Sinead also offers Milton as a year-long unit (or focus) for 3rd and 5th-year architecture students in their studio module. This means that a small group of students will work closely with local residents (ideally), as well as local artists who work as consultants on the studio, and sometimes local schools and local organisations. Who is involved varies and is dependent on the needs of the Pavilion project in Milton and the residents involved. The unit theme, chosen by Sinead

(A), is based on what is happening in Milton, as well as what is happening in the university. The (old) Pavilion - how it could be transformed to better meet the needs of the different communities, as well as what people wanted in and from a new purpose-built space for community-university activities have been a focus in many of the Milton-based modules.

When I visited, the unit theme was 'value', which had come from a quote in a rejected funding proposal Sinead had submitted for TP where the feedback given stated, "I think this will do great things for the community, but will not, I fear, provide value for money". The significance of this quote will be explored later in the chapter, as well as in the Discussion Chapter. I'll describe below what I observed (and participated in) to give a sense of what a live teaching module might include.

Photo 4. 'Value' activity (author's photo)

As part of the 'Value Unit', the students had to explore the idea of what value for money meant to different stakeholders and why. One way they did this was by organising an afternoon of different workshops in Milton for a group of young people from a nearby primary school and secondary school. In one of these workshops, they decided to explore the idea of value and asked the children, 'is something valuable if it is only valuable to one person?'. They asked the children to place different items along an invisible line of value - one end representing not useful at all, and the other representing very useful. Photo 4 shows two university students sitting behind their table of items that include staples (but no stapler), pencils, frames with no picture, a lightbulb, a cuddly toy, little candies, a receipt, eyeglasses, a bottle of water, and a coin. Photo 5 on the right shows a young person's drawing of what is valuable to them in their life which includes members of their family.

Photo 5. 'Value' activity (author's photo)

Another activity led by the university students was a design workshop where a group of secondary pupils were

encouraged to draw things they like to have in their own room (see photos 6, 7, and 8) - things that made them feel cosy, with the aim of generating ideas on what they thought was needed to make the different hang out spaces inside the new Pavilion building attractive to young people like them. This workshop represents a common aim in much of the work done in Sinead's classes - seeking and incorporating the voices of local people into the design work that students do, with an overarching hope that the outcomes can eventually influence the actual designs of the new Pavilion building. Voice and potential limits to co-production will be explored later in the chapter.

Photo 6. (above) & Photo 7. (below) 'Design Workshop' activity (author's photo)

In terms of the individual projects and how they run, this varies hugely depending on the type of project, its aims and who is leading it. One thing of note is that in some of the teaching-led projects where a local resident or artist is heavily involved, they are paid for their time as opposed to other participants who aren't. As explained above, some of the projects are longer-term such as the year-long modules that are focused on Milton, whereas others are one-off events such as a street party. It is therefore difficult to give a concise explanation of this without going into great detail. Instead, I will share several stories of people's experiences with the projects from their own perspectives a little bit later in the thesis.

Photo 8. 'Design Workshop' activity (author's photo)

Where TP sits within the institution

Civic engagement activities are categorised differently depending on the institution and on the nature of the activities. At some institutions, civic activities are split into teaching, research, public engagement, or volunteering categories, each belonging to different parts of the university structure (ie. departments, faculties, public engagement departments, student union volunteering, etc.). At PU, their civic mission strategy includes a mixture of public engagement, student volunteering, civic mission activities, and being a living wage employer. According to the civic mission sub-strategy document, 'civic mission' and 'public engagement' are described as overlapping to some degree, but are treated as two distinct areas. Public engagement is seen as being orientated towards research and education, whilst their civic mission aims to establish a long-term relationship with their communities as well as tackling societal challenges. TP links directly to the civic mission by addressing some of the civic mission's underpinning objectives including - working with local businesses and others to ensure that PU's campus and expertise are made available to meet the needs of wider society; embedding itself in its community, especially in historically disadvantaged areas; and helping to address societal needs by deploying 'academic expertise' through public engagement and civic activities.

TP itself is housed in the architecture department where the lead academic teaches. During the early stages of the idea, it was felt that out of the academic departments of those taking part in the leadership programme, Sinead and her department were best placed to house the project because of architecture's ease with working outside of the university, their positive view on experimentation, and the live studio modules that were already part of their curriculum.

TP has had (what from the outside would appear as) a high level of institutional support since its inception because it

directly contributed to PU's commitment to their civic strategy. PU's civic strategy itself is closely aligned to government priorities and strategies on public engagement meaning that in Bethan's words, "TP is able to deliver a large part of that agenda with the work that we are doing" (A). This support has come in the form of financial contributions for the project - an initial three years of funding that came directly from the Vice Chancellor's office (which was then extended another five years), as well as funding for small seed projects. TP was also supported in terms of the staffing it was allotted - a project manager, partnerships manager, a communications officer, and the academic lead's time for 1 day a week. The project has now won a number of awards for their work, some coming from PU, others from external sources. The success of the project has most likely helped them in maintaining support from their institution, however, they did have to put together a strong business case to keep being supported (see Chile and Black 2015 for a discussion on this common occurrence) following the initial three years, as well as continually needing to justify their approach and why their funding should be maintained, if not increased.

Drivers

There are differing levels of drivers for TP - structural, institutional, community-level, and individual.

The new (at the time of my fieldwork) VC's focus on a civic strategy may have been in response to criticism from the government who stated that PU and other universities had a responsibility to work in the communities in which they were situated in order to make sure that those communities also benefited from the university's prosperity and resources. One minister lambasted PU saying, "the university is the biggest landlord in the city, yet they don't do anything with and in the community". This criticism sits alongside the public's more recent questioning of the purpose of universities and their

value to society.

It would appear that PU's leadership decided to respond to the government's criticism by launching its civic mission strategy and its five flagship projects, one of which became Team Pink (TP). According to Sinead, there was a general feeling that the university had to engage more deeply with its local communities, especially within the context of austerity. In this sense, the structural and university-level drivers overlap and influence one another.

The original pavilion project of finding a space where parents could meet up after dropping their kids off at school came from the local Milton residents themselves. Sinead straddled both this stakeholder group and the university stakeholder group, and therefore became the boundary spanner between the two. Her experience as a local parent informed her idea that the university could perhaps be in partnership with her local community, which is what she proposed and what eventually became the civic project, Team Pink. Another driver from the community was a need for a neutral space as this quote from a resident participant (RP) and early Pavilion Group member highlights:

> We had conversations quite early on about whether or not the place was available for people to use for religious or political meetings. And that felt like a really important set of conversations because it sets some priorities about this need to be for everyone. And the way to make it for everyone is to not have small sections of the neighbourhood there using it, or for it to be regularly identified as being a particular religion or politics...[what was needed was somewhere] that could provide a place where different communities could come together, because whilst there are many spaces where different faiths meet, what was missing was somewhere that didn't ascribe to one religion or political party (RP)

As stated above, in the beginning, Sinead was motivated to do something from her position as a parent, and then later as

a university staff member. The Pavilion project itself came about initially as a response to local residents' needs. Over time, Sinead moved out of the area with her family, and therefore her relationship to the area changed. No longer being a resident has given her mixed feelings - on the one hand, living outside of the area allows her to have a bit of perspective, a bit more privacy, and a bit of distance from her work. On the other hand, she described feeling a bit uneasy about no longer being an 'insider'.

4.2.5.   Team Pink team introduction - who is the core staff team and what do they do?

Some of the main characters involved in Team Pink have been mentioned, but here I will explain who the main characters are and what they do (as things were when I conducted my fieldwork). The team are based in different locations and often move between these depending on the context.

TP's core staff consists of:
- Sinead (A): project lead (1-day p/week) - based in the university, has a desk in the TP office as well as her academic office
- Bethan (A): project manager (part-time) - based in the TP office in the university
- Asad (A): partnerships manager (part-time) - based in the community, spends a lot of time in the Pavilion
- Olivia (A): communications officer (part-time) - based in the TP office in the university, in charge of marketing and other communications related tasks

(A building manager has since been employed for the day-to-day managing of the new Pavilion building - I will not be discussing this as they were not in post in the period of my research)

Below I will introduce you to Sinead, Bethan, and Asad who are integral to TP and with whom I engaged with the most.

Building on what has been said above, **Sinead (A)** is an architect by training and is now the academic lead for TP. She is in charge of the overall project, represents the project in institutional contexts, and has incorporated Milton into her teaching. She engages with students the most out of the team, is based in the university, but does go to Milton regularly. When I first met Sinead she was incredibly busy and also generous with her time. She is both professional and approachable and seems to be able to bounce between the varied practices, needs, and requirements of the different 'worlds' she engages with - academic leadership and management, her students, community members, and her team. The time Sinead has for TP is a mixture of specific time for TP in her work allocation (1 day per week), which is then augmented by the time allotted for teaching activities where the modules are based in or on Milton. Her role as the academic lead means that she is often the go-to person for people both inside and outside the institution seeking to find out more about the project, or when the university wants to highlight or promote the project. Sinead is also responsible for the overall success of the project, and in the beginning of the project, was the line manager for the rest of the TP team. This has since changed as the project was moved from being overseen by the VC's office, to a different faculty (more on this will be discussed later in the chapter).

Bethan (A) is the project manager of TP and is based in the TP office in the university. The first thing you notice about Bethan is her energy and enthusiasm, both of which bring people along. She is incredibly passionate about both the project as a whole and her role within it, and she uses this passion and enthusiasm to make connections and build relationships with people across the university and the city. She describes her role as "facilitating the co-production of projects, coordinating relationship brokerage, facilitation, overall project management, [and] helping people start and

complete projects". Bethan engages with a wide range of primarily outside stakeholders (as opposed to students) including (but not limited to) local business owners, local authority officers, councillors, community organisations, charities, and local residents who have a project or event idea. She also engages with academics across PU who might be interested in working with TP, as well as supporting those academics who do end up doing either teaching or research-led activities in collaboration with TP and Milton.

In her role, Bethan has had to get to know academics and their areas of interest from across the university in order to know who to approach and match up with a resident or local organisation when they come to TP with a potential idea that could benefit from collaborating with an academic. Conversely, she has had to develop relationships with many different community organisations, schools, and local residents in order to support them and match them up with an academic when they have an idea, method, or question they want to investigate with the community. In our interviews and informal discussions, Bethan often talked about mutual benefit and mutual interest and the importance of co-production.

'Bethan has to juggle a pretty immense amount & variability of tasks & responsibilities in this role, but she does this with total enthusiasm & positivity. I think this is largely due to the fact that she believes in what they are doing, she's in a supportive team, & their work is being recognised by the university and outside organisations'

-excerpt from my fieldwork diary- 1st visit

Asad (A) is the partnership manager of TP and is based in the community. He has a background in working with young people and has worked for the council for years in various roles including mentoring school children, supporting young people into education, employment or training, and being a youth worker. Unlike the rest of the team, Asad was born and raised in Milton and belongs to one of the larger minority ethnic communities there. Asad's personal connection to Milton as well as his standing in the community places him in a very strong position to broker relationships, as well as to encourage local residents young and old, to take part in activities with people from the university who they may otherwise

never have engaged with.

Asad's role in TP focuses on building and maintaining successful partnerships between PU and the community of Milton, as well as managing events in the Pavilion. He has probably the most contact with local residents on a day-to-day basis, and like Bethan, Asad is passionate about the project and uses his strong network and connections with the community to get local residents involved - whether it be in one-off events, or in long-term partnership working. In addition to his passion for his community, Asad is also a lover of sports. Whilst his role involves working with the entire community in Milton, he has focused most of his attention on young people, using sport as the main vehicle to get them involved.

As a team, they appeared to be very supportive of one another and had a very positive attitude toward the project and their individual roles in it. They meet regularly in the Pavilion to reflect on how things are going, discuss new developments and challenges, and check in with one another. They also meet regularly with the Pavilion Steering Group, which is made up of some of the people from the original resident's group (PAG), to update them on the progress of the project and to discuss where to go next.

4.3.   Fieldwork Visits Description

4.3.1.   What was happening when I visited and what did I do?

I visited Hills and Milton, the ward TP works in and with, on three separate occasions of between six and eight days each. See the table in the Methods Chapter section 3.4 for specifics on the what, who, how, and how many interviews, chats, and observations I conducted during each visit.

Visit 1 - On my first trip to Milton, I visited for seven days in late April during which time I met the team, tagged along to various meetings, participated in workshops, and helped out at a couple of events as part of their Career Week and their annual community consultation and celebration event - 'Love Milton'. I also walked around Milton and PU, trying to get a sense of both places - taking in the sights, sounds, and smells as I went.

Career Week culminated in the big 'Love Milton' event on Saturday. This was a two-part day which included a closed morning workshop with local residents (R) who had been involved with TP and 5th-year architecture students (S), followed by the community fun day which was also where they consulted with people who attended the event. The workshop involved the architecture students presenting work they had done which was based on what local people had said would be their 'dream Milton'. With the support of Sinead, they then facilitated a series of table discussions on how to achieve 'the dream', making a plan, and asking people to commit to taking part in any way they could.

Whilst the week was busier than was typical for TP, Sinead felt that it would be a good opportunity for me to see different aspects of what they do.

Visit 2 - My second visit took place in late July/early August in 2018. The aim of this visit was to get to know more residents who were involved in TP, as well as to hopefully visit some of the projects to get a feel for what they entailed and what they were like. Another aim was to reciprocate Sinead and Bethan's time by helping out at their big World Food Day that they have 3 times a year and which is the result of one of their resident/university projects. Unfortunately, the event

had to be cancelled last minute due to heavy winds and rain.

I did manage to interview two participant residents (PRs) - one who had led a small project with the support of TP, the other had been part of the initial residents group who started the TP ball rolling, as well as interviewing two academics/university staff, and one student. I also had 15-20 chats with a mixture of professionals, students, residents, children, and the TP team. In this visit, I was also able to observe a Pavilion steering group meeting, a TP team meeting, and a community project, as well as spending time in the Pavilion seeing how it was used and by whom, how it felt, etc.

Visit 3 - My third and final visit took place in late October 2018 and included five interviews (with six people total) - one resident, two academic/university staff, and three students. Like the other visits, I had between 15-20 'chats' with people ranging from artists involved in one of the live teaching modules in architecture, to university students involved in the live teaching, and children who participated in a workshop put on by Sinead and her students. I was also able to observe; Sinead's seminar on social value; academics, students, and artists planning a session for a workshop with local school children; the resulting workshop with those school children; and an evaluation session of the above involving the university students, one of the artists, and Sinead.

4.4.   How the Participants Experienced the CUP

This section addresses the first research question by exploring the experiences of the different participant groups in TP - local resident participants and university staff. My analysis of the data stemming from many conversations and observations as well as my own field notes and reflections resulted in a complex picture including varying experiences

across this case study's participant groups, as well as the factors that have contributed to these experiences. Each participant group is discussed in a subsection and will recount the key findings on the benefits and challenges they experienced. In keeping with my epistemology and my approach to this thesis, I endeavour to include people's voices as much as I can. In some instances, a particular voice or experience will be highlighted in more detail because it illustrates several overarching key themes, it helps to contextualise how TP works in practice, or because it is particularly powerful.

4.4.1.   Resident participants' experiences of TP

This first subsection explores the experiences of the resident participants I spoke to - all of whom had interacted with TP in some way. The residents I engaged with span from having been heavily involved with TP since the very beginning, to having worked on one activity/project at one time. Below I introduce you to Patty (RP), a local resident participant whose experience gives a flavour of a resident-led project aimed at community-building and not necessarily connected to teaching or research. Following the story, I explore in greater detail the benefits and challenges that came up across the data from the resident participant experience.

Patty's (RP) **Story**

Patty, a resident of Milton of over 20 years, had noticed that her street was very multicultural and quite vibrant, but that she didn't really know many people. She heard that Team Pink were inviting bids for community project ideas so she applied and was successful in getting funding to do a street party. Her idea was to use the street party as not only a way of encouraging more connection between her neighbours, but to potentially, "root out any musicians or singers on the street and maybe set up a street choir". Finding musicians and singers didn't pan out, but for Patty, what worked was sharing food and, "people rubbing shoulders who normally wouldn't rub shoulders".

Patty found Bethan to be incredibly supportive and helpful with the organising of the event (both before and on the day) and with connecting her up to who she needed to speak to for the practicalities and formalities (street closure procedures, health and safety, advertising, timings for all the steps, etc.). She said that the learning gained from the experience of the first year meant that the second year, they didn't need very much support as they knew how to plan it and who to speak to.

Even though one of the aims of the project did not come to fruition, Patty said,

> I mean I see it as a very small fry, you know it's just a street party, which is fantastic for the street. I mean I say 'just' lightly because for the street it's a huge thing and it does mean that – I don't know whether it's happening with other people, but I'm certainly talking to loads more people on the street now, I mean you know we stop and have a chat and say hi

From this statement it would appear that even though this was a small one-day event, it has had a lasting impact on those living on the street as far as feeling more connected to their neighbours and more comfortable chatting together. In this way, Patty's idea and her initiative led to a more pleasant place to live for her and her neighbours - thereby fulfilling one of TP's key themes - building community.

In this instance, TP (mostly Bethan (A)) played a supportive role in terms of helping with the organising of the event. It had been hoped that there would be more students involved, but due to timing issues, only one student was able to participate.

4.4.1.1. Benefits / positives

When looking at all of the CUP participants in this case study, they appear to have benefited from their participation with TP, as well as the way in which the project/event was set up and run. Two benefits experienced by resident participants (RPs) came through strongly in the data - the social aspect of participation (relationships, connection, and collaboration) and the learning that occurred. In addition to these, there were several factors that appear to have contributed to these positive experiences including the role of informality, TP's positive energy, and the support that having the university and

other organisations involved provided for the initial resident Pavilion group. These will be expanded on below.

The social aspect

One of the strongest responses that came out from just about everyone I spoke to was how much they enjoyed the social and collaborative aspects of participating in a TP project or with the TP itself (for example if the person was part of the Pavilion steering group). One resident participant's experience sums up what I often heard saying, "I really appreciate and enjoyed that social aspect of being alongside people who live in the area and also have some kind of commitment to it and ideas and energy to give. It's a wonderful generosity which feels good to be around and be part of" (RP). Participants spoke quite passionately about how much they had enjoyed just spending time with other residents or the TP team, getting to know people whom they might not have met otherwise.

The relationships that formed as a result of collaborating and being part of TP also appear to have contributed to feeling more connected to Milton, the Pavilion, and the university. One newer to Milton resident explained how being part of the Pavilion steering group impacted her saying, "when I'm more involved in it [the steering group and TP] it does make me feel like I'm part of Milton. I've got to know Milton - it's fast-tracked my kind of arriving here as a new resident...and the complexity of all the different power dynamics of the neighbourhood" (RP). Basam (RP), another resident participant and business owner, talked about how his involvement with the Pavilion and the community cafe (which he ran as a pilot project) helped him feel connected to it saying, "I feel very much like this is my space [the Pavilion], I've been here, I've lived in [Milton] and I love it, you know? So I feel a lot of ownership over it. I feel happy about it. I feel involved" (paraphrased from interview transcript). A connection to the university was expressed by some, with one resident

"What I liked actually, was it felt like we were getting to know each other and being with people who we might not otherwise meet"

-resident participant, CS1

participant saying, "I feel the university is like my friend now to be honest. It's mainly because of the relationships it's built. You know it's not actually the university, it's the individuals who are involved with it who have made the difference" (RP). This distinction made between 'the university' and the key individuals in it will be explored in the discussion chapter.

Learning stuff!

Strongly connected to the social benefits stemming from the resident participants' (RP) involvement was the learning that they experienced. Residents expressed how they learned about themselves and their own potential, the 'system', and the value of reflection. One RP spoke about how she learned about a fierce side to herself that she'd never seen, which came out when she felt 'researched on'. Another resident participant talked about how he had learned a lot from Sinead (A), Bethan (A), and Asad (A) in terms of how he might be able to benefit his community even more than he already was and that this learning had been "the main positive from the university" (RP). In a sense, TP helped the residents involved to create a framework for what they were doing as well as to learn how to organise and access funding for community activities. One resident participant explained that he had learned how to utilise the system including how to speak to local councillors and politicians, as well as how to lobby them for support and be more confident in saying, 'look, we can do this and this and this'.

One of the resident participants I spoke to shared her views on what she found really valuable from working with TP and the university - mainly how it had provided a space and time to notice, interrogate, and then articulate her own existing knowledge. Her words are paraphrased below:

> Well the thing with living life and having the knowledge and experience in life is that we don't notice it. So the encounter with any kind of an academic or a different, more

thoughtful practice is about, 'how can I integrate more reflection into my life to notice what I'm learning or what knowledge I already have', isn't it? So for example if, I think both sides is wary of the other, [in what ways could] me or another resident draw on the university to help me reflect on and articulate my own knowledge? And it is a really nice sort of idea, and it is time to regard it with status…maybe that's the thing as well. But a lot of the time I don't even notice it myself because I'm just in the middle of doing this stuff. So yeah I think that's interesting - noticing, reflecting, noticing and articulating the existing knowledge (RP)

Contributing factors

In looking through the data, I noticed that there were several key factors that appeared to contribute to the positive experiences had by the resident participants - informality, TP's commitment and attitude, and having the university involved.

Formality and informality came up again and again in interviews and chats (the challenges associated with formality will be discussed later in the section). Informal interactions in informal spaces seemed to work better than formal meetings in more 'business' settings because people felt more at ease. One strong example of the impact of informality came from discussions about the early days of the Pavilion project which eventually became TP. The original resident's group used to meet in each other's kitchens/homes before they had found a place to meet (this eventually became the Pavilion). A couple of the original resident participants I spoke to said that they liked the informal aspect of this because it felt like you really got to know people and, "it really felt like a community group, you know?". Another resident explained that for her,

there was something about when you meet in each other's houses. What I liked actually, was it felt like we were getting to know each other and being with people who we might not otherwise meet and really getting…. like [Basam - RP] who has been involved right from the beginning. It sort of bridges over gaps that you might not just, yeah, people

TP's enthusiasm and commitment to the project was also cited multiple times throughout my fieldwork and I think this helped to not only get people involved, but to also keep people involved over time. One resident felt that the university had been very positive and that they had "a huge amount of commitment and imagination in the way that they're engaging with the neighbourhood" (RP). This enthusiasm and commitment also meant that there was support and consistency available for resident participants, especially those involved in the steering group. One resident I spoke to highlighted how having the university involved also gave the community group (PAG) credibility and leverage, as well as continuity and consistency. Once TP became established and had the backing of PU, this meant that it then had paid staff who had designated time and a brief to work with and in Milton and other community partners. This is not always straightforward, however, as academics can and do go over their 'allotted' amount of time for working with/in the community, thereby taking time away from other priorities/commitments.

4.4.1.2.   Challenges

Whilst the resident participants spoke about many benefits they experienced from their involvement with TP, there were inevitably challenges as well. Some of these were brought up by the residents themselves and included; getting people involved, the mismatch (class, ethnicity, background, etc.) between the people from the university and local residents, TP resisting doing 'deeper work', meeting the needs of the different communities, having enough time, and feeling researched on. Other challenges were perhaps less straightforward or were things that I observed or felt instead of being told outright, for example; gatekeeping, and paying versus not paying participants. And like in the section above, in addition to the challenges themselves, there appeared to be a contributing factor - formality. These will be discussed in

greater detail below.

Getting people involved, time, and key individuals

Several of the resident participants I spoke to expressed their frustration and ongoing struggles with getting other local residents involved in TPs various projects or the steering group, as well as keeping them involved over time. People lacking the time, inclination, and/or confidence were cited as contributing factors to this challenge. Another main contributor was people moving out of the area. One resident told me that 80% of the original Pavilion Action Group (PAG) had moved out of Milton.

CUPs (and most community groups/initiatives) benefit from consistent involvement and interaction from its partners - something that can be challenging for residents compared to professionals and academics who can include their involvement within the bounds of their work. And whilst TP staff and the other partners (for example a local school teacher or councillor) have specific time allocated for these activities, they often expect to keep within traditional 9am-5pm hours. This can mean that meetings, events, etc. held during this time are not accessible for resident participants who work and are participating on a voluntary basis, contributing to difficulties in participation, recruitment, and excluding their voices.

Once someone gets involved, then what?! It must be smooth sailing, you say. Alas, no. Once a local resident such as the people I spoke to, becomes a kind of 'key individual' for a particular project where there aren't many other people (due to the recruitment difficulties mentioned) to help, they then have a lot of the burden placed on them due to the time and

energy they have to put in in order for the project to happen at all. One resident participant I spoke to expressed a sense of guilt and even failure saying, "I feel like I'm failing because I'm not putting in as much time as I would like to" (RP). This reflects what a different resident spoke about when he told me how he had seen key individuals experience burnout as a result of a combination of being the 'key' to a project in addition to their own life and work commitments.

Mutual benefit

According to Sinead, Bethan, and the team, one important principle they strive for is mutual benefit for all involved meaning that for example, residents benefit from their involvement alongside the university partners. At times, however, some of the 'key individuals' - residents who were heavily involved in the Pavilion steering group or in leading a project with TP became 'go-to' people for students to interview for a piece of course-work, and later, once TP gained wider recognition locally and nationally, for interviews (or presentations, workshops, training, etc.) with interested parties. This contributed to the pressure associated with being a 'key individual' as well as making some resident participants feel 'researched on', leading to some residents being less inclined to continue taking part. This challenge around certain key resident participants being asked to give a lot of their time will be explored further from the perspective of Sinead in the next section.

Another challenge relating to collaborative projects was brought up by one resident who said, "something that I feel is not always transparent within projects like this, and it's not just university projects, but a whole bunch of projects, is - who are we asking to do what, and on what terms?" (R). This highlights a tension around what the 'ask' is and whose time 'counts'. In the TP projects that I observed or heard about, resident participants were not paid for their time. However, the two

resident artists I observed and spoke to who worked collaboratively with Sinead and her students in live studios were paid for their time and skills.

The less straightforward difficult stuff

One rather surprising (to me) finding as expressed by two residents I had deep conversations with was that they felt that TP seemed to resist doing 'deeper work' - for example, having difficult conversations or delving into thorny and uncomfortable topics. In resident Delilah's (RP) interview, she reflected on how she thinks that there could be more work done on how TP deal with (or don't) and explore the problematic things. She explained that with the Pavilion project, which included a community asset transfer and the need to find funding for it, local people had different views on what it was meant to be, who it is or should be for, and how the money should/n't be spent. These varied views led to tensions and complaints which were difficult to deal with, but to her, this is also the very interesting work that needs to be done, but tends to only be acknowledged, rather than explored in a deep way. Delilah (RP) illustrates her point in the paraphrased interview excerpt below (which refers to the period before the new Pavilion building was built)

> Because every single morning outside the pavilion you get the dog walkers from six till whatever, eight. And they're outside and we're inside of an evening, and outside you get the kids and inside you get the people round the table. And there are lot's people who are doing lots of good youth engagement there [the old Pavilion]...there's [Asad - A] who's doing amazing stuff. It tends to be around sport and things, which I'm not particularly interested in, and seems quite a specific sort of target audience really. So there are resources and ideas to engage with these people, but not enough sustained something or other to keep going and to say when there's a problem, 'hang on, let's go into that problem', rather than 'let's get past the problem'. So I suppose I would be interested in things which somehow have the courage to go into those things more deeply. And I know it takes huge resources to get the consistent formal stuff done, which is what the Board [the Pavilion steering group] is doing and what the university is doing

and what Bethan and everyone are doing there, and they're doing amazing work, huge amounts or work to get that. So where do you find the bit on the edges or at the actual heart of it… where the emotional perceptions and the relationships and conversations are? (RP)

Another challenge related to avoiding difficult topics or conversations was brought up by several residents and is something that I observed during my time there - gatekeeping and the limitations that can occur when one key individual is relied upon. As was mentioned earlier in the chapter where the TP team were introduced, Asad, the partnerships manager, is based in the community and tasked to broker relationships and projects between the community and the university with a special focus on youth. As far as I could tell, Asad is quite successful in doing this. He is from Milton and shares a cultural heritage with a large part of the community and is a trained youth worker and lover of sports. However, he also might be so focused on sports and youth that he may be missing other opportunities.

One resident I spoke to who had previously interacted with TP told me about a stabbing involving young people that had happened recently near the Pavilion. He expressed his frustration regarding what he considered to have been a missed opportunity for the local young people who were engaging with TP because instead of providing them with the opportunity to collectively explore the social and structural inequalities that were affecting their own lives, the focus had solely been on safety. He suggested that in addition to the safety element, there could have been some creative activities that focused on knife crime and violence against young people and aimed to get young people to reflect, explore, and discuss these impactful, difficult things that were happening to them and to look at WHY this was happening. He spoke about how from his own experience in the previous year when he had tried to get a project off the ground with TP and young people, he had felt a reluctance and a lack of interest when it came to setting up activities that focused on difficult

and thorny issues and that focusing so heavily on sports (and inadvertently gatekeeping) was limiting young people's opportunities and choices.

A couple of different, but interconnected challenges for TP were the mismatch between the people coming to Milton from the university and local residents, as well as a common (but perhaps augmented by the mismatch) challenge of meeting the needs of different communities and understanding what those needs are in the first place.

As mentioned in the project description earlier in the chapter, the Pavilion is a project in itself (what the new building should be like, for whom, etc) as well as the site of many other projects related to TP's nine priorities. Basam (RP), the local resident and business owner who has been involved since early on in the project, expressed the considerable challenge of meeting everyone's needs in 'the community', in part because 'the community' is not one homogenous group but a big mixture of cultures, religions, interests, practices, etc. Contributing to this challenge is how other local residents perceive the space (the Pavilion) and TP - what and for whom it's all about. A couple of residents (not TP participants) I spoke to in passing mentioned all the sports activities for younger people they saw happening at the Pavilion and seemed to think this was all that was on offer. Another resident told me how there had been a couple of local residents who were not pleased with TP because they felt that the Pavilion project didn't represent 'the community'. They brought this up at a meeting that was open to the public and were invited to join the project because the steering group also felt that it wasn't as representative as it could be, however, the residents refused and were still quite angry.

In our interview, Delilah (RP) shared an exchange that she had with her neighbour who is white British:

> Well I mean [Ted] next door said to me once when I said 'there's going to be something

or other down at the Pavilion, are you going to come along?' he said, 'that's for all them hijabs isn't it?' So I guess he just perceives it as being entirely for people who are a different ethnicity from him, and therefore it's not for him.

Contributing to the challenges around public perceptions and meeting the needs of diverse communities is the mismatch between many of the people (staff and students) coming from the university - largely white and middle-class, and local Milton residents - many of whom come from diverse ethnic communities and are largely from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Residents I spoke to highlighted some challenges resulting from this mismatch including university staff and students at times misunderstanding the interests/needs/etc. of local people and how some residents had been cautious or had reservations about engaging with TP perhaps because of real and perceived power imbalances, class, cultural, and ethnic differences. The paraphrased interview excerpt below highlights these challenges as well as showing a sense of real loyalty and appreciation for TP through the unease with which the resident participant expresses these challenges:

I think if I was to say one downside maybe, and I don't think it is a real downside, I think maybe sometimes, there might be an element of the university maybe...because it's academic and stuff and the people who are getting involved and getting into this stuff, are academic people. And sometimes, maybe, I think I have a bit of a fear that the building [the new Pavilion building] will not reflect what our community is. But then a part of me hopes that our community can catch up to be able to be, to you know.. Because I think when we've [Pavilion action group) been to see other projects, it's all to do with art and you know, it's really nice and stuff like that, but sometimes I felt like, without trying to be racist, but it was a very white kind of environment. And it was fine because it was a white area, but we live in a very multicultural area. But I think there needs to be some sort of a balanced view of what the community needs. So people [from the university] are like 'oh we can turn this place into an art gallery' and stuff like that, but are our community really going to go and spend time in an art gallery? Is that really our type of community? I might be wrong, you know. But there's two aspects-either our community won't use it, or they might come and see and say, 'oh wow, actually I like this', maybe they haven't been open to art before. So it can go either way

and I'm not really an artistic person myself, but you know, I'd love it if our community can go and appreciate it. But my gut feeling at the moment is I don't think it would be like that. (RP)

Contributing factor - formality

As discussed above, one aspect that kept coming up throughout my conversations and observations was how much (in)formality appeared to impact people's experiences. Referring to the Pavilion Group in the early phase of TP, Basam (RP) reflected on the challenge of formality and the connection with growing projects saying, "I think a lot of people in our group left because of how big we were getting and when people were like, 'we need to make a constitution' and 'we need to do this, we need to do that', you know, 'we need people to commit' - they was gone out the door as soon as you say that". Delilah (RP) kept mentioning how hard formality was for her saying, "I have struggled and do struggle with the more formal structures". She doesn't like questionnaires or meeting in places where there are fluorescent lights, stating "there's a whole set of things where my stomach turns and I run away" (RP). The formality that comes in when a project grows (or wants to grow), gains momentum, or is recognised presents an interesting but challenging conundrum for community groups and was brilliantly illustrated in the case study description when resident participants said that they "couldn't get money without the building, and they couldn't get the building without the money". The group couldn't get either of these things without becoming a constituted group and following various procedures - all of which introduced more formal aspects of being and working together. (In)Formality will be discussed further in the next section.

4.4.2. University participants' experiences of TP

In this section, we will hear about the experiences and perspectives from the voices of the TP team and other engaged academics who have worked with TP. As you have probably gathered, TP is not ONE project with one main academic and

one main community group, nor is it something that has been running for decades. Therefore, like in 4.1, the experiences touched upon here will include the initial developing phases of TP, the overall platform, and individual community-university projects.

The section will begin with the story of one academic's personal journey of transformation. I have highlighted Lowri's (A) story because her experience gives us a picture of - what it was like to incorporate working with the local community (especially business owners in her case), residents, and TP into her teaching; how this has impacted her practice and career; as well as outcomes and impacts on the community and students. Her story also touches on various challenges that are echoed by other university participants, as well as the literature. However, most of the challenges experienced by Lowri and the academic participants I spoke to will be discussed in Section 5 which focuses on the HE structures that hinder (and enable) the practices and relationships in projects such as Lowri's. The key benefits and challenges experienced by the other engaged academics, university staff, and engaged students will be discussed following Lowri's story.

Lowri's (A) Story

Lowri is a senior lecturer in PU's Business School. She is extremely friendly, bubbly, and enthusiastic. The story below is based on the interview I conducted with her and is told from her perspective.

What Lowri did - the evolution of a CUP within a CUP

Sinead (A) and TP approached the Business School following their initial conversations and consultations in Milton because they had flagged up a potential area where the university could potentially work with and hopefully benefit the local community - local businesses. Lowri had been in the

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same leadership programme as Sinead, therefore a connection between the two academics had already been formed.

Lowri's engagement journey began in a very exploratory and non-committed way. She worked with the TP team, listening to what they had heard in their conversations with local business people, as well as discussing potential links to different parts of the curriculum. She reflected that it was very much a 'let's see what happens and go from there' approach in terms of how she might be able to incorporate working with the community into her teaching. TP connected Lowri up to two key residents - Peter (RP), one of the initial residents involved with Sinead and the Pavilion, and later Mark (RP) - another local resident who was passionate about the local business community.

Together with the support of TP, Lowri and Peter changed and co-developed an alternative Master's Marketing dissertation option based on Milton and the Pavilion (in addition to other potential partner organisations). The students were placed into small groups and allocated to a small local organisation with a marketing problem where they did 3 months of consultancy with the aim of coming up with various solutions for the organisation. Two of these student groups were tasked to come up with a business plan for how a hypothetical community cafe could run in a building like the Pavilion and were supported by Peter, who became the 'organisational mentor' (even though he was a local resident). Lowri said that this project was really successful - the students presented their ideas and recommendations to Peter who then shared this with the Pavilion steering group. Lowri was able to use the students' outputs as a basis for further work with future students, and according to her, the students themselves, "got a lot more out of it than some of the students who just got traditional profit-making companies where there's a budget. I mean this was - 'assume there's no money, how can we just put this model together? What would work? How can we make it sustainable?'"

Following on from this success, Lowri said she "started being a bit more daring". She thought to herself,

> our business management students are in a big large lecture theatre with 300-400 students. I was thinking, 'how can I give them this same experience in some way?'. So Ruby (A) [one of the initial TP staff members who was leaving when I started my fieldwork] and I spent a lot of time thinking about how we could do this. So instead of their regular assignment- a traditional academic [essay where] I set a question and they write 2,500 words, we decided to try and give them a flavour of a live project (laughter). We couldn't replicate what we'd just done with the MSc students because it's just not feasible to send 300 people down to [Milton], so we decided to focus on the shop local idea (a finding from the MSc project)

Lowri had to work in different ways with the undergrads than she did with the Master's students due to the limitations and challenges involved in working with large numbers of students, as well as the different levels in emotional development in the (typically) younger undergraduate students.

It was at this point that she started working with Mark (RP), a local resident TP had worked with who was very involved with local businesses and had been listening to their challenges for years. Mark became a kind of spokesperson, or boundary spanner, for local business owners and TP. He began working closely with Lowri, eventually co-producing bits of the curriculum, as well as assessment briefs for the students. Mark also delivered talks and recorded a video about Milton, its history, and the current challenges local businesses were facing. In his talk to the students, Mark explained that the business community in Milton wanted to begin addressing the challenges they faced by setting up a business forum, and they were also interested in potentially having a Shop Local Scheme as had been identified by the Master's students' project. The students were tasked with finding examples of business forums and shop local campaigns happening in the UK or abroad and to come up with recommendations for Mark and the local businesses. Lowri then chose the top ten essays (out of over 300) based on what she felt might be of most benefit to Mark and gave them to him to look over. Lowri asked Mark to give feedback on the ideas in these 10 essays to the entire class. She hoped that in receiving feedback from a community-based expert, they would feel like they had the opportunity to connect with and make a contribution locally (however small it might be).

The following summer, the best ideas and the data collected from the undergraduates together with the feedback from Mark were put to two new groups of Master's students to then do more in-depth investigations as part of their dissertation projects on how a business forum and a shop local campaign could actually be created in Milton. At this point, Mark was mentoring the groups and was heavily involved. The following winter the first business forum (led by the business people) happened with 30-40 business owners attending and continued on a monthly or bi-monthly basis.

What Lowri managed to do was to have the projects from each level feed into one another year on year. In this way, not only did the students learn about different topics and challenges faced in their local (for now) community, the local business community was also able to benefit from the work of the students without having to repeat themselves in repetitive interviews with students.

Outcomes, impacts, and benefits
There are different types of benefits and outcomes from this project for the community, the university, Lowri, and the students. Before this project began PU's Business School branded itself as a 'public value business school'. They are now using Lowri's work with Milton businesses and her students

as an example of a public good that, according to them, can and should be happening more in the school.

A practical outcome and benefit that came out of the business forum is further collaboration between the Business School and Milton business owners. For example, some of the Forum attendees said that they struggled with accounting skills, so the Business School facilitated forum sessions where an accounting lecturer came and spoke to them, sharing skills and knowledge. Another forum focused on digital social media skills- something a member had highlighted as a challenge for them (and on this occasion, the session was led by Lowri). The Shop Local scheme was slower to get off the ground but was going to be the focus of the upcoming summer (at the time of my fieldwork). Longer-term benefits from the Shop Local scheme and the business forum remain to be seen.

For Lowri, her work with TP and the community in Milton coincided with a shift in her priorities and career trajectory. Upon returning from maternity leave, Lowri decided to move from the research (with a bit of teaching) track to the teaching and scholarship track (called the TNS pathway) because as she told me in her interview, "I got more pleasure out of the teaching and I found the REF stuff just hideous. I found the whole process horrible". In the transcript excerpt below Lowri reflects on how working with TP and local residents has impacted her:

> Lowri- It's done a lot for me, personally as well, in my engagement remit. Just being able to feel like you're doing something that is something for somebody. You know, sometimes it can be a little bit...I don't know…you just work away in your little office and you're not really having...ok you teach, and you're imparting knowledge, and all that type of stuff, but this is another dimension in a way.
>
> Marion- I wanted to ask you about that. How do you feel participating in this project has impacted your life?
>
> L- I think it's actually been huge. I didn't think it would be when I first had that meeting with [Sinead] and [Ruby - A] and thinking, 'oh my goodness, what is this!?'. Cause it's so different from your traditional models of how we do things here. I thought, 'this is great, but I can't think of how we can fit that in'. But it's enabled me to be a lot more innovative and actually challenge the way I do things. And it's made me think a lot more about how I teach. That this is a really valuable way of helping the students relate what they're doing to the real world because sometimes it's all so theoretical and academic. Marketing is easier in that respect because we are customers and students are customers and they can see that world. But this is really having a proper impact on people and their businesses and their lives and making a community better. And I think that is a lovely thing to be involved with. And it's enabled me, it's freed me to think a lot more innovatively.

In addition to positively impacting her teaching, it became apparent to me that Lowri's perception of what and who a university is for also radically changed as a result of her experiences of engagement, as well as the leadership programme. I asked her if she thought that universities had a civic duty to their local community and she responded,

> L- I do NOW! If you'd asked me that about 10 years ago, I wouldn't have known how to answer you, really. But now that I've seen it in practice and I'm actioning it, I can't believe why we don't do more of this! And why it's not part of what ALL of us do?! Because isn't that what we should be doing? It's not just for the privileged students who are here. We should be having a wider impact than that and influencing...because this place is full of resources and knowledge and skills, and we're only using those in a little tiny niche.

According to Lowri, the students have really enjoyed the live teaching and community-focused modules or projects. She said that the response from the first group of undergraduate students who were in the module that Mark was heavily involved in (described above) initially was,

> L- 'ohhhh, what is this?! This is a new type of thing we're not used to'. But all the material that we put online really helped with that. And then in my student feedback questionnaires, they ABSOLUTELY loved it. They said, 'why can't we do things like this in all our modules. We feel more connected with [Milton]. We feel like we might be able to do something for the place that we are spending 3 years in. We want to know more. How can we get involved more with this project?'

Lowri's story illustrates how long and organic the development of this relationship and the eventual project was. It also highlights the various benefits experienced from Lowri's perspective. Another thing this story highlights is how involved Peter (RP) and Mark (RP) were and at least what appeared to be, a level of mutual respect and valuing of differing forms of knowledge and experience. For example how they were involved in designing parts of the curriculum and assessments, and how they mentored student groups and gave feedback on their work. Their level of participation also highlights some potential challenges and ethical considerations in terms of mutual benefit - is it fair to have a resident participant do so much, did they benefit as much as the university partners, how were they compensated, were they able to incorporate their work with Lowri into their own jobs so that this was not on personal time and it was paid, etc.? Unfortunately, I was not able to interview Mark or Peter to find out how they felt about their involvement and what the benefits and challenges were from their perspectives.

4.4.2.1. Benefits / positives

The social/relational aspects

Similar to the resident participants, university participants also highlighted the importance and benefits of the relational aspect of their involvement with TP and community-based work. The 'social/relational aspects' includes the relationships that were formed between and within the different participant groups, the community, the university, as well as the TP team, and the Leadership Programme that both Sinead and Lowri had been a part of. People I spoke to talked about how their lives had been enriched by these relationships and friendships and how much they cared about the people they were engaging with. Many of these relationships were born out of the connections made through the various collaborations that were part of TP, however, existing relationships were also drawn upon. For example, Asad (A) was able to draw on his existing relationships with young people and his strong network within the local community to enhance, influence, and connect the work that TP was doing (or hoping to do) with the community. Bethan (A) spoke about how passionate she was about being the boundary-spanner between the community and the university and how she and TP had benefited from the good working relationships she had developed with their now long-term partners. Lowri (A) talked about how she liked how TP brought together different engaged academics from across PU to support one another's projects.

Learning and impacts on one's practice/approach

The social and relational aspects of TP also connect to the learning that happened as a result of these relationships and connections. Through their experiences, the university participants appear to have learned many things about themselves, the community, and the university, which for some, also impacted their design practice, and how they approached their teaching and working with the community.

Both Sinead and Lowri were able to (eventually) incorporate working with Milton/TP into their teaching. Lowri spoke a lot about how working with TP and local residents had a huge impact on her teaching practice and how she realised that live teaching and working directly with the community was a, "really valuable way of helping the students relate what they're doing [in the classroom] to the real world" (A). She reflected on some of the learning that had occurred from this new way of working, including co-creating curricula with a local resident, and how it had enabled her to be more innovative and to challenge the way she was doing things, making her a better teacher as a result. Sinead echoed this adding that the live modules and place-based teaching had allowed her to be more creative and experimental, letting things grow more organically and that this had "benefited [her own] practice and the project as well" (A). In addition to the positive effects on her teaching, Lowri's work with the Milton business community (and TP) has been held up by her department as an example of good practice, elevating her status as a result.

Sinead spoke about another big impact stating, "I think the biggest change in terms of my practice and how we approach a project [with the community] is just the longevity of it. And I think that's the thing that's made it work because it's just let us get to know people as friends", highlighting her recognition and valuing of the importance of the social, as well as temporal aspects of this work.

Impacts and making a difference
Another key benefit espoused by the university participants which is also strongly connected to the social and learning aspects described above was having an impact and making a difference. Lowri talked about how she felt that her

Milton-based business modules and projects were, "really having a proper impact on people and their businesses, and their lives, and making a community better" (A). Other university participants shared this view that the work they were involved in was having a positive impact on the community and their students, and they also talked about how passionate they were about this work and its impacts, and how this helped to motivate them to carry on, especially when faced with challenges. As a result of her experiences with the community-based modules, student Ida has changed her career plans telling me that she now wants to work for a firm that has the same ethics and approach to architecture as her - somewhere that is, "engaging with its community, engaging with the people that it's directly impacting" (S). It would appear that seeing positive changes happen at individual, project, community, and university levels as a result of the social connections, relationships, collaborations, and learnings from the engagement with TP helped those involved find meaning and satisfaction.

4.4.2.2.   Challenges

Getting people involved/reach/connecting directly with the community

As I stated in the introduction to this section, the majority of the challenges experienced are heavily affected by institutional structures, therefore they will be discussed in section 5 which focuses on how HE structures hindered (as well as enabled) the practices and relationships, and by extension the experiences, of the participants. However, I will briefly touch on challenges that are deeply interwoven but either aren't directly related, or only slightly related to HE structures including; getting people involved/reach/connecting directly with the community, mutual benefit, and the pressures on key individuals.

Like several resident participants' experiences, university participants also expressed how difficult it was to get people involved with TP, especially in potentially lead positions (for example project leads, or steering group members). In addition to this, one engaged student highlighted a challenge in relation to the Pavilion project where one of the aims was to engage with local residents to find out what they wanted the new Pavilion building to include and be like. She was frustrated that even though the students (with support from Sinead and TP) had engaged with a lot of local residents and young people, this still only represented a relatively small percentage of the Milton population, and she worried that the designs that the architecture students came up with would only cater to a small niche. This challenge of reach and representation reflects resident Basam's (RP) concern about the new building possibly not meeting the needs of the community. In addition to reach, Lowri (A) reflected on her own challenge of connecting more directly with the community as opposed to going through TP but that living 40 miles away from Milton made developing her own relationships difficult.

Mutual benefit

As was mentioned in the resident participant challenges section, mutual benefit for all those involved, especially the resident participants, was a challenge that was a strong concern for Sinead (A) who worried that certain key resident participants would be overburdened with interview requests from students, other academics, or outside interested parties (as this had happened in the past). Sinead was acutely aware of the disparity between resident participants who volunteered their time compared to those able to incorporate their participation into their paid work, and how requests such as the ones mentioned could lead to burnout and resentment. Sinead shared this concern when I asked if I could speak to some of the resident participants, and I could tell that this was something that she really struggled with as the

project lead.

Pressure on key individuals

Even though TP has many different projects (which can include teaching, research, or civic activities) and project leads, there is still pressure on those key individuals - the academic leads. In a conversation with one of these leads, an academic who has not been able to receive a lot of support from TP (for reasons I will discuss in section 5) or the university, expressed her frustration saying, "there's only one of me, there's only one of my post-doc, and there are limited numbers of people in the School and across the School [who can or want to help her]" (A), thus highlighting challenges related to capacity, project leadership, and multiple and competing commitments.

Sinead (A), Bethan (A), and Lowri (A) all have a lot of pressure placed on them as key individuals in their respective roles as either leading or supporting projects. They all have strong social skills and are very passionate about what they do, meaning that they have made strong relationships with their partners across the university and in the community. This also means that partners are more likely to feel comfortable reaching out, as well as university leaders asking them to represent 'the university' or 'the university's civic activities' at meetings, thereby adding to the pressure on them amongst all of their other responsibilities. In addition to being asked to represent the university or meeting with community partners, key university staff can also be greatly impacted when another 'key individual', whether it be a lead resident or a university person, leaves for whatever reason - moving out of the area or university, burnout, or not having enough time - often resulting in the academic lead taking on the burden of filling those shoes until they can be filled by someone else (if they're lucky).

Sinead also highlighted a different kind of pressure that she experienced, especially in the early stages of TP whereby she had to conform and alter some of her work and practice. As a practitioner academic, she straddles both worlds, and as she has stated previously, like other architects, she's a bit of a jack of all trades - taking bits from different disciplines but not having a sole specialism. In her quest to start and then maintain this project within the academic framework, Sinead was almost forced to formalise and translate her work and practice into language and terms that are familiar and expected in academia. Through this process, she became aware of the metrics that her university are keen to track in terms of impact and engagement and had to alter her practice and that of her team to make sure that they were systematically capturing these quantifiable outputs with the aim of justifying the university's investment in the project, and helping to hopefully obtain further funding and support in the future.

4.4.2.3.   Contributing factors for what 'made it work'

Working behind the scenes were several factors that appear to have been essential in the positive experiences of the university participants. Time came through the data strongly as being a pivotal part of TP's approach and according to Sinead (A), its subsequent success to working and developing relationships with the Milton community. Sinead talked about how her experiences with TP, including having 1 year to 'test the waters' in the beginning of the project, led her to realise not only how crucial having time was in order to be able to build trust and develop relationships with residents and university stakeholders, but also how essential relationships were to CUPs. Lowri (A) echoed Sinead's sentiment and added that having time allowed ideas, collaborations, and projects to grow more organically - all of which are reflected in her story and in how her projects developed.

Another factor that struck me as an outsider and participant observer was how the TP team were together - how they communicated and supported one another through various tasks, challenges, and successes. The story snippet below gives a flavour of their communication and team working approach.

Snippet from my field notes on an observation

> **Being nice is…..nice! An 'ethic of care' is in the air...**
>
> **Scene**: observing in Team Pink's (TP's) office on my first day there. Three of the team members are there; Sinead, the project lead and a Reader in the department of Architecture, Bethan, the project manager, and Olivia (A), the communications officer. The office is in an older building with a confusing layout of stairwells and hallways at varying levels over multiple floors. I got lost a number of times trying to find TP's little office over the course of my time there. Whilst the office is relatively small for the four desks that are there, it has big windows, a lot of light, and a generally happy feel.
>
> **My observation notes**: Everyone was quite busy with their own stuff, but they were very kind and introduced what they each do and asked about my stuff. What really struck me is the ambience in the office - it was so relaxed and positive and full of possibility. This felt very much in contrast to what I often feel in USP [my own department], which is negative and kind of the opposite of a 'can-do' environment.
>
> I then wrote down this exchange between Sinead and Bethan that exemplifies this sense of ease;
>
> > Bethan - so this is the project we were talking about. I met with them and this is what they're doing…and I think they will need [X] amount from us to get going/keep going
> >
> > Sinead- ok. Ya that sounds right and in line with what we had discussed. Ok.

In my time with TP, I was continually struck by how kind they were to one another - freely praising, asking questions in

non-confrontational ways, and joking around together. There was a visible and palpable feeling of a mixture of respect, fun, passion, and care for each other and for the work they were doing.

The third contributing factor was having institutional support. This support has come in different forms and at different levels. Sinead has had support at both the institutional and departmental levels (specifics will be explored in section 5) and said that eventually, following on from years of leading the project and it continuing to gain strength and recognition, her career profile was finally raised. As we can see in Lowri's case, her School has held up her undergraduate and postgraduate Milton-based projects as examples of good practice saying, 'this is innovative and something we should be doing more of', thereby having a positive impact on her reputation and contributing to evidence for a promotion. Another form of support was the ability for both Sinead and Lowri to incorporate working with the community/TP into their existing teaching, meaning that they didn't have to do things on their own time, contributing to a more positive work-life balance and their positive experiences. Another form of institutional support was how Sinead's departmental and discipline culture was less risk-averse than other departments, allowing her to work in more experimental and responsive ways.

Another factor as highlighted by Sinead was the role that emotional and physical connection to place played in terms of getting people interested in TP and how once they experienced the project, they felt an emotional connection to the place and were then more likely to get involved saying, "we've had a few people [university staff] who are willing to take the risk because they had an emotional involvement, so they either live there or have known someone who lived there, or just have research that lends itself to that kind of thinking, or they just really want to do it" (A). Developing connections with

people whilst visiting the space appeared to contribute to this emerging emotional link (see Bondi 2005, or Davidson and Milligan 2004 for more on the link between emotion and place).

Lastly is the role that informality and serendipity have taken in TP's approach to this work. Like the residents, university participants also highlighted how taking an informal approach to working contributed to a more positive experience for all involved. Sinead explained how in the beginning of the project,

> there was no formal structure so it wasn't off-putting. We weren't standing there with boards and questionnaires. It was just, 'come on in, have a picnic on the ground that you've never had access to in your life before'. There was something that was really nice and loose about that (A)

Whilst the team have had to incorporate more structure in the way that they work, they appear to have kept the informal aspect where possible, contributing to an approach that seems more approachable, comfortable, and therefore more inclusive. Connected to informality was something brought up often by Sinead when she described the project - the role of serendipity. She talked about how in the beginning they didn't have Bethan (A) and others in place who eventually added structure and expertise saying, "I think there was also a sort of serendipity about not having that necessarily at the beginning and having that naivety just to go and try something out". Having a more relaxed and informal approach makes space for serendipity to strike.

4.5. How HE Structures and Cultures Enabled and Hindered Collective and Individual Practices and Relationships in the CUP

4.5.1. Introduction

Addressing the second research question, I will summarise the various ways in which HE structures appeared to have both enabled and hindered the practices and relationships connected to TP based on the observations, interviews, and chats I had during my time there. As this question also gets to the heart of what I'm interrogating, I will not delve too deeply into the 'whys' or 'hows' that took place in PU and TP in this chapter, leaving the more in-depth analysis for the Findings and Discussion Chapter.

The subsections below outline how various HE structures at sectoral, institutional, departmental, and project levels (often the line between these was blurry) appeared to have enabled and hindered the practices and relationships in TP. Some of the structures discussed impacted TP at the project level, whilst others refer to the TP team, the individuals involved, or a mixture of all the above.

4.5.2. Enabling structures

Sector and institution levels

At the institutional level, PU's Civic Strategy**,** which is connected to a wider sectoral move in this direction, gave the space and the opportunity for TP to develop in the first place. PU's Leadership Programme of which both Lowri (A) and Sinead (A) were a part of, appears to have had a really positive impact on them. For example, they now know the VC and he

knows them by name, and they are now able to reach out to other key people (whom they know as a result of the programme) in the university when they need something. Lowri said that she now has a better understanding of the overall strategy of the university and because of civic mission, TP, and her School's public value approach, she now feels like she's found her place and she knows what she's doing and why and that this has contributed to making her feel really happy in her job.

Institution and department levels

At the institutional and departmental levels, there appear to be four key aspects that have enabled TP projects, those involved, and its wider impact.

The first aspect, which is connected to the civic strategy and the leadership programme, is the resourcing and funding of TP for the staff team, the lead academic's time, and seed funding for projects that local residents could apply for. This funding was initially for three years, with subsequent funding having been procured for a further five years.

A second enabling factor, this one also linked to sector and institutional structures, was supportive departmental priorities, especially in the case of Lowri and the Business School where she lectures. The business school (re)branded itself as a 'public value business school', and Lowri's work is now being used as an example of a public good that can and should be happening more in the school. Lowri explained, "I'm lucky that it [Milton-based projects/teaching] fits nicely into this public value remit and it's valued within my school. So, I'm not so worried about this REF business, because I know it's important to my level of institution" (A).

The third enabling factor at the institutional and departmental level was having promotions based on engagement**.** PU has a pathway that allows academics to be promoted based on excellence of engagement. Lowri (A) explained saying,

> because I'm on TNS, I can be promoted on excellence in engagement. So it really fits together quite nicely, and I think it has freed me up to be able to think, well actually, this IS a valuable thing I get to be a part of, something I can build on my career trajectory

The fourth enabling factor is that PU (now) has (slightly more) flexible procurement and pay procedures**.** This is a result of Sinead's experience in navigating the procurement and pay procedures in the early stages of TP and her realisation that similar to many universities, PU's requirements for businesses wanting to become a provider included a high minimum budget, thereby making it practically impossible for smaller local businesses who might be in a position to do some work, for example for TP. Sinead persuaded PU to change their requirements so that local small businesses could benefit from contracts with the university, especially those in Milton.

Project level

There were three key structures at the project level that enabled TP, those involved, and by extension, the wider community.

The first key structure was having a team. Having Sinead (A), Bethan (A), Asad (A), and Olivia (A) allowed for sharing the workload and pooling expertise and knowledge. It meant that the lead didn't have to know everything and that there was mutual support and encouragement. Sinead talked about the importance of having different skills and experiences saying,

> so the project manager of course, with [Bethan] originally coming in, was just a really,

really key role and I think the success of the project really depended on that right team coming in and the approach and expertise they brought into it. Because I had no expertise as an architect in terms of that kind of community organising and so on. That hadn't been part of my training or my background (A)

Here Sinead talks about how important getting the right team in place was. She also admits the limitations in her knowledge and that people with different expertise were needed.

Having someone from Milton in the team was also key. Resident participant Basam said, "I think he was a really good connection because people were [like], 'oh it's Asad [A], it's not the university, it's Asad'" (RP). Many people I spoke to talked about Asad's strong connections to the local community and how his networks, trust, and credibility helped to bring people through the door and get involved in something they might not otherwise have tried.

The second key aspect was having been given time - time to develop relationships and time for the overall project. Sinead stated that the increased trust as a result of having the time and the longevity of the projects happened in both the community and the university and that this time really helped to make the project work. Academics and other people in the community have started to see TP as something more than they had perhaps originally anticipated (ie. not another short-term one-off project).

The third key aspect was the flexible and wider-ranging criteria and expectations of outcomes and direction of the individual TP projects. For example, the projects in TP can be exploratory, and they can be service-led only - such as a street party, and not connected to research or teaching. This is because activities that some might class as community development, or non-academic, are seen as a way of testing out the waters - either for a project idea or to gauge the level

of resident interest. These activities also provide the chance to see if there are any potential opportunities for linking in with a researcher, department, course, or lecturer.

4.5.3.   Hindering structures

Sector and institution levels

Whilst there are structures that have enabled various aspects of TP, there are still those structures, especially at the sector and institutional levels, that have created challenges for TP and those involved in it that by extension, have also affected the wider community-level impacts. Three overarching and intersecting hindering themes/structures at the sector and institutional levels were highlighted in my data.

The first hindering theme encompasses Research Council funding structures, time, and risk. Whilst TP has received funding, Sinead (A) explained that proving the research value of TP and that CUPs are 'value-for-money' to research councils, managers, and the more sceptical academic staff were some of the biggest challenges she faced. The following paraphrased quotation from Sinead highlights some of the challenges that occur when working in and with communities in a collaborative way within current HE structures and norms:

> [working collaboratively with a resident on the research] adds an extra stage, and that extra stage might be a couple of years. So then what's the benefit of doing that? [...] the benefit long term is that it's bottom-up, co-produced research that may lead to really meaningful impact and may raise questions that wouldn't have been raised otherwise. But you've got to convince people [funders and managers] to give academics the time to do that. And to convince academics that it's worth taking the career risk [...] because you could have a 2-year conversation that leads to nothing, so how do you evidence that? (A)

The quote calls attention to challenges around time and risk (which will be discussed in greater detail in the Findings and Discussion Chapter), especially in terms of typical cycles of research and institutional expectations. Another engaged academic told me how she had put her case to the heads of her school and college, the CEO and the VC of the university - all of whom liked her project very much, but that they felt it was 'too risky to support in financial terms'.

Directly related to funding and risk-aversion is the second hindering theme which includes the intersection of institutional perceptions of 'failure' and 'success', and (what I'm calling) projection. A part of the quotation above - "you could have a 2-year conversation that leads to 'nothing', so how do you evidence that?" (A), highlights an example of a potential 'failure' in the eyes of the institution according to Sinead. I think by 'nothing' she means in terms of not having led to a project or 'output' that would 'count' using the measures for success and failure employed by PU. But failure for whom and in what ways? The quotation also highlights the experimental nature of this kind of work, as well as the relational aspect, the amount of time it can take, and the associated 'risks'.

On the flip side of this is the projection of 'success'. Something I noticed is that TP have been very good at marketing themselves in the form of attractive posters and booklets with pictures of smiling happy people taking part in various activities, as well as a particular focus on highlighting the statistics of the platform (numbers of: projects, volunteer hours, expressions of interest, event attendees, etc.) as a way of demonstrating their impact. One interview excerpt reflects this well

> I think they [TP] tell the success stories [...] It is difficult…I don't know how they could represent the complexity of the lived experience and the gritty stuff. [But] I don't know how much people would connect that [TP's projection of Milton] with their actual [Milton] (RP)

"it doesn't fit the traditional cycle that you do your research and then your research has an impact. So I think I have enough belief in it that it will come about but it might be a decade long process. But I'm willing to do that"

-Sinead, CS1 academic lead

Like in many projects, there is a tendency to focus on and project the 'success stories', and not necessarily a more holistic view of a project which could include challenges and aspects that would be considered a 'failure' under current evaluation frameworks.

Something else that my research highlighted was another form of projection - the disconnect between how PU portrayed themselves in terms of their commitment to engagement versus their actions. One of the engaged academics I spoke to was frustrated and visibly exasperated whilst she explained how her project is used for PU's marketing materials and on their civic mission and university strategic plans, yet the university wasn't supporting her and her project in real terms. She felt that they were "paying lip-service to engagement" (A).

Reasons for and the ensuing impacts of how 'failure' and 'success' are perceived as well as rhetoric and the role of projection will be explored further in the Discussion Chapter.

The third hindering structure at the sector and institutional levels is how impact is defined and perceived in the REF. One experience illustrates this hindrance. Lowri (A) talked about how even though many of her colleagues had suggested she make an impact case study on the work she's been doing in Milton with her business students and how she subsequently suggested to Sinead that they do a case study of TP at the institutional scale, they didn't feel that they would be successful because

> we don't have many research papers as an outcome so it's not seen as being measured very well. So it's really frustrating, because we have literally, massive impact, but because we haven't been able to disseminate that in an academic context, we're not

*"It's [her engaged project] become more important. It's now been recognised in the university's sustainability plan, and now we feature at every single event. So we're actually in the Civic Mission video, **even though we're not funded!**"*

-CS1 engaged academic

Institution Level

There are two overarching and intersecting hindering structures/themes at the institution level - changing leadership and/or institutional priorities, as well as university 'culture' and work-allocation models.

Sinead spoke about how shifts in leadership presented a sense of uncertainty in terms of whether or not TP would continue to be supported. Following the 3-year flagship project where TP was overseen by the VC, things changed to it being overseen by the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the College who hadn't been involved in the project at all. Sinead said, "we were nervous about what that would mean". Future changes in institutional priorities (which could be as a result of a change in leadership) also present potential challenges for TP whose initial support and funding were the result of a new Vice Chancellor's vision and a prod from the government in power. Longer-term funding more generally and in the long-term is a continuing concern for TP.

The second hindering structure/theme at the institutional level is University 'Culture' (and going against the 'norms'), and Work Allocation Models (WAMs). One local resident participant involved from the very beginning explained how in his view Sinead had, "put her head above the parapet", and that she spent the first few years, "trying to figure out how the university speaks to itself" (RP). Through my time in Hills I became aware of the difficult challenge Sinead faced in getting the university to understand what CUPs are and what their value is, as well as learning how to navigate their systems. In our chats, Sinead made clear how she still had to justify working in and with communities and how this was core and not an 'add on' to some university leaders and staff as this was still seen as 'going against the 'norms' of the university culture.

Closely intertwined with university 'culture' or 'norms' is the WAM. Sinead explained that in the leadership program, the challenge of persuading heads of school and department managers that CUP working was not only worthy but core and not an add-on, was illustrated clearly when the academic staff involved in the program were told that if they got involved in TP, they would be "putting their careers at risk" and that it "couldn't be part of a workload model" (A). This resulted in Sinead being the only academic left working on the project out of the eight who had been part of the program. Over the next few years, Sinead stated that this resistance and perception of TP began to change and soften somewhat.

As described earlier in the chapter, both Sinead and Lowri (A) were able to incorporate some of their work with Milton into their teaching, meaning that it was also incorporated into the teaching element in their WAM. However, when talking about her role as the academic lead for TP, Sinead said that "it doesn't fit into a box in the WAF (work allocation framework)" because this element, which includes the managing and relational aspects of the role, is not connected to teaching. Lowri also spoke about how things like the initial stages of developing relationships with a potential community partner were not included in her WAM because this was prior to it being connected to her teaching.

*"They talk about it but when push comes to shove, when you're doing your Performance Development Review, it's the **number** of **papers,** the **number** of **PhD students,** and about **money you brought in. They're the principle drivers".**

-CS1 engaged academic

Project level

The hindering structures at the project level are inextricably linked to and impacted by the sector and institutional structures. Two aspects stood out in the data: the lack of time and the impacts on key individuals, and long-term funding and the way it is distributed.

Whilst some time is being allocated for academic staff who have been able to incorporate CUP working into their teaching, this still leaves time for the essential relational and project development activities out of WAMs meaning that the workloads of key individuals such as Sinead and Lowri become even bigger.

Even though TP has funding from PU at the moment, there is no guarantee of how long into the future this will carry on because it is not 'core' spending. Another challenge related to funding is how the funding that is available is being prioritised and allocated. There appears to be a limit to who/what projects are supported by PU due to its parameters. One example of this is an engaged academic who has in the past worked with the support of TP, but for the most part, has had to work on her own due to wanting to work with schools across Hills as opposed to focussing only on Milton. This highlights a challenge in TP's place-based approach as well as highlighting how individual departments don't actually contribute to CUPs - all of the funding comes through the TP platform.

4.6.   Chapter Conclusion

Summary of the participants' experiences

The participants' experiences were not one homogenous thing, nor were they clear-cut. However, two benefits did come through strongly in the data for both resident and university participants - the social and relational aspects of their participation, and the learning that occurred. An additional benefit experienced by the university participants was the motivation they got when they could see that a CUP was making a difference. For the residents, several factors appear to have contributed to these positive experiences including the role of informality, TP's positive energy, and the leverage and credibility that having the university involved leant to the original Pavilion community group (PAG). The contributing

factors for the university participants included: having a staff team to share the practical and emotional labour; being given time and taking a slow and long-term approach to developing and sustaining relationships, partnerships, and projects; being nice! (being kind and supportive of one another); institutional support (being and feeling supported by one's department and the leadership; being able to incorporate this work in their WAM helped them have a better work-life balance); emotional and physical connection to place; and informality and serendipity.

Several often interconnected challenges were highlighted by both resident and university participants including getting new residents and other academics involved in TP and/or its projects, not having enough time, key individuals feeling a lot of pressure, achieving mutual benefit in reality, and formality. One engaged academic highlighted challenges for those whose work fell outside of TP's geographical focus, and therefore did not receive funding or support. Three less straightforward challenges also emerged including TP's apparent resistance to doing 'deeper work' or focussing on contentious or more difficult topics, gatekeeping, and the mismatch and impacts from those coming from the university not 'matching' those living in Milton.

Summary of the structures and cultures that enabled and hindered the collective and individual practices and relationships in TP

The chapter also explored how HE structures and cultures enabled and hindered the collective and individual practices and relationships in TP across different levels. Enabling structures at the sector and institutional level were PU's civic strategy and the Leadership Programme. At the institution and department level, enabling structures and cultures included: resourcing and funding of TP, supportive departmental priorities and receptive disciplines, promotions based on

engagement, and (slightly more) flexible procurement and pay procedures. Perhaps the most striking enabling HE structures and cultures were at the project level. These included: having a staff team, being given time to develop relationships and time for the overall project, and flexible and wider-ranging criteria and expectations for the outcomes and direction (they could involve teaching, research, or be a community-based activity or project) of the individual TP projects.

So What?

The things that stood out to me from my experiences, interviews, and observations of TP were: the relationships and trust that developed between those involved in TP and its various projects, the level of commitment and care, and the genuine passion for doing things collectively with the aim of making a difference. Having a supportive and resourced staff team enabled a sharing of skills, knowledge, and the practical and emotional labour - all of which appear to have greatly contributed to the participants' positive experiences, as well as to the project's overall success. Another striking feature of this partnership is the slow, long-term, place-based approach they are taking (and the fact that PU is supporting this), and how it seems to have really benefited the strength of the relationships with the different stakeholders, as well as the level of trust held in both the community - it's a project that is sticking around as opposed to the common short-term initiatives they have seen - and the university. TP also provides an example of a civic engagement programme in the UK that is open to projects and partnerships that are teaching, research, and community-led/driven. This is supported by their ethos (and small seed funding grants) that allow a resident or university member to try out an idea to see if there is sufficient interest in the community, with the understanding that not every activity or project will work out (and that's ok!).

At the same time, it also became clear that there were limits to who, where, and what was supported, leaving some academics frustrated, angry, and unsupported (practically and emotionally). The case study also illustrated how in some respects, PU and certain departments had been more open to taking risks (for example the VC supporting TP, and Sinead and Lowri's departments). However, what was also highlighted was what appears to be a deep-seated risk-averse culture that views engaged work as risky - for example, the managers telling the academics in the leadership programme not to continue because it would damage their careers. There were also significant barriers for academics doing (or considering) community-based work in terms of whether, and how (to what extent) the different aspects of CUP-working, including time for relationship building and sustaining, are included in work allocation models.

This case study is an example of a university with both rhetoric and practical applications of their civic strategy and commitment, however even here there are challenges experienced by the engaged academics, and at times by extension, the partnerships and participants. TP's characteristics and set-up (including having a staff team, their long-term, place-based slow approach, funding, support, etc.) have led to some great examples of different forms of community-university engagement and some positive and transformative experiences for many of the participants, as well as a wide range of impacts both in the community and the university. However, the fact that PU is still largely driven by the dominant current neoliberal focus on metrics, rankings, and performativity (see Ball 2016) means that the extent and quality of their civic engagement, as well as the experiences of those involved, is and will continue to be, limited or hamstrung and not able to reach their full potential.

5. Chapter 5 - Case Study 2: Blue University and the SPARs Project

5.1. Introduction and Context

Chapter summary

Chapter five follows a similar structure and focus as the first empirical chapter with six main sections, a focus on stories and participant voices, and the intersection between the lived experiences of the participants - residents and university staff - and the impacts HE structures and cultures have on the 'Sparrow Researchers' (SPARs) project at 'Blue University' (BU) and those involved in it. The case study is introduced through two contrasting stories based on my reflections from a 7-day period where I went from a glittering conference on engagement that espoused HE's commitment to civic university ideals, to the lived reality of one academic enacting those ideals amongst a backdrop of little support from her own institution. Following on from the stories is a short description of the city, university, and ward in question. Section two gives an overall description of the case study project - its history, aims, ethos, as well as what they do and where SPARs sits within the institution. The third section briefly recounts what was happening and what I did during each visit. Section four introduces the main resident and university characters and explores how they experienced the project - looking at the benefits and challenges, often bringing in their voices through stories or vignettes. The fifth section builds on the previous one but focuses on how HE structures and cultures enabled and hindered the individual and collective experiences, relationships, and practices in the project before reaching the chapter's conclusions. This study differs from case study 1 (CS1) in that the story focuses on one academic - 'Liz' (A), one project - SPARs, and those involved in this

project. Another distinction is that this is an *active*, long-term, resident-led participatory research CUP (as opposed to student, or teaching-led projects like in CS1). This case study fits within my criteria for involvement in that it is long-term and works directly with residents living in what is described as a 'disadvantaged' ward. This chapter particularly highlights the key role that relationships, care, and emotions have played in this partnership, as well as the emotional labour involved. The case study also illustrates a disconnect between BU's institutional rhetoric on civic engagement and the ensuing impacts (especially the negative and embodied impacts on Liz) connected to their institutional structures and cultures and their lack of support in reality. The chapter suggests that the SPARs project happens and has thrived in spite of, not because of, Blue University's institutional structures and cultures.

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*text in pink = the voices of the main **SPARs participants** - the community researchers (CRs)/resident participants, Jack - involved professional (P), and Liz - lead academic (A)

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5.1.1. Stories

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Story Number 1 - what the what?

The streets of Edinburgh's New Town are wide and organised and lined with beautiful 'houses' for the wealthy. Inside the building I'm in there are hundreds of very well-dressed people from all over the world, although mostly the UK. There are big necklaces and nice suits all chatting very appropriately to one another as we stand underneath the giant chandeliers. We then get ushered to the great hall. Over the next three days I attend workshops and plenary sessions all about public engagement and impact in HE as part of the National Coordinating Centre for Public Engagement's (NCCPE) annual conference. From the tone and content of just about everything I attend, you would think that universities in the UK are all hyper-committed to the social purpose of HE and that communities around Britain must be really benefiting from all this 'public engagement and impact'!

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Nancy Rothwell, the president of the University of Manchester, spoke to all of the 350 attendees about how it has never been more important for universities to engage, and that this needed to be embedded and not just an add-on. She spoke about universities being for the public good and how her university was integrating its social responsibility across all of their faculties. Nancy was passionate about all this and she made me think, 'wow! Manchester Uni have really got some good stuff going on!'.

Day two and the excitement really ratcheted up. The plenary was led by someone whose work I quote - Professor John Goddard and his colleague Mark Tewdr-Jones - both from Newcastle University. I was excited to hear John speak and to see if he lived up to my expectations that were based on his 2009 seminal provocation, 'Reinventing the Civic University'. I would say yes and no. Yes in the sense that he talked about how "we are citizens of place" and that universities are part of globalisation. Here is where the no comes in - during the Q&A I asked how long-term community-university projects could be funded? John didn't really answer my question but mentioned internal vs. external funding and Mark suggested linking social and technological funding. In other words, be creative in finding the funding - crowdfunding, alumni, science £, etc. - there was no mention of core funding. This seemed quite in contrast to the message that was being put forward throughout the conference that public engagement and impact was the third pillar and as such, was central to universities' 'business'.

On day three the chief executive of the Arts Council England said that universities are playing a role as anchor institutions and civic institutions. The Vice Chancellor of UWE then spoke about needing to embed public engagement throughout the university saying that, "it's everybody's job, it's not one person's job", but that "there isn't money for engagement".

The NCCPE gives out an award every year for the best public engagement with research. The nominees for this year's round ended up all producing very glossy films about their projects, however, I noticed that none of the films included voices from the public - the communities and residents involved. The films felt very much like marketing for the university - not a result of a co-produced collaborative place-based project.

The conference had an impressive assemblage of people that included 60 senior leaders in HE. It felt really positive and I left with a lot of enthusiasm feeling like perhaps my worries and my own experience of struggling to get support to work with local people was a one-off and didn't represent the sector as a whole. I was, however, disappointed that the overall message as I understood it was - public engagement and impact is

absolutely important and core to universities, but not to the point where it will be funded as such.

Story Number 2 - blerg

Three days after the conference in posh hotels and fancy buildings with people to match, I went to visit Blue University in the city of Rivers, my second case study site. The contrast between the two cities and the way public engagement and impact in universities was (not)supported was stark.

This was a short, but intense visit of just two days, in which I was able to see one lone academic, Liz (A), doing what appeared to be exceptional work in and with her local community with a very small amount of institutional support. Liz has never had a pay rise as a result of her multiple awards from her work with the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs) and her Head of School has never once been to Sparrow, the ward next to Blue University where the community-research project had been running for five years at the time I wrote this story.

I observed Liz's normal day-to-day and tagged along to several meetings in different parts of the city with a variety of stakeholders. We went from meeting to meeting, straight to an evening event at a community learning centre where Liz had been invited to speak at their AGM and celebration, without hardly time for a breath and she told me that this was normal for her.

Liz had worked in partnership with this centre which has worked with women from different countries for years, often in her own time in the evenings and weekends, and in spite of the lack of support from her Head of School (HoS). In recent work, Liz and some of the community researchers had helped to train some of the staff and learners from this centre in how to conduct their own research in order for the centre to be able to find out what was working, what was missing, not working, etc.. This work helped the centre to become more responsive and effective in its offer, as well as upskilling its staff and learners in something they could continue to use.

Upon arriving we were warmly welcomed, the faces of smiling women from many different cultural backgrounds all around, with offerings of a cuppa before the meeting started. After Liz's speech, current and past learners came up to share their stories of their often challenging journeys and how the centre and its classes had impacted and changed their lives in a myriad of ways saying, "the centre means no barriers, confidence, and feeling good", that the centre "feels like another family", and that "the centre is the backbone in our future", and "the result is feeling good and

going forward without barriers" (quotes from multiple speakers). The bravery that it took for women new to this country, some with limited, but growing language skills, speaking in front of 30 or so people and sharing their personal stories, welling eyes when explaining having to leave their homes, the frustrations of navigating the UK systems, a twinkle in their eye when they talked about a new skill, accomplishment, or experience they had had. I found myself tearing up a few times. Following these emotional and inspiring stories, we mingled over delicious homemade delicacies I didn't know the names of, Liz smiling and chatting with the attendees - the connection and care plain to see. Standing off to the side, Liz later told me in a sad and passionate tone, "the university now has a business structure that dissuades academics from doing community projects like this".

Travelling home I was left with such a mixture of emotions. Just five days ago I had been surrounded by an intoxicating array of positive language about our HE's commitment to public engagement and impact as the 'third pillar', including the importance of co-production and working in mutually beneficial ways with our local communities. But then it felt as though I had somehow broken through the rhetoric veneer bubble and into the reality on the ground when I entered Blue University (BU). How could the espoused sentiment from the NCCPE conference be true when BU used Liz and her community researchers to demonstrate its impact locally whilst simultaneously not funding or supporting the project properly?

Liz's place-based participatory work has positively impacted the lives of her co-researchers and students - sometimes leading to a new job, a new lease on life, feeling valued and a part of the community, gaining confidence and skills, and also being able to affect change in real tangible ways. Yet somehow, this kind of impact sits uncomfortably within the metrics used to evaluate a university's impact and engagement.

I've shared these stories to introduce the disconnect between the rhetoric of engagement and impact and the reality on the ground as I have experienced it.

5.1.2. Case study city ('Rivers'), university ('Blue University'), and ward (Sparrow) - what are they like?!

'Rivers' is a medium-sized city of over 160,000 people in Southern England. According to the 2011 census, its population

was described as 75% White, 9% South Asian, 6.5% Black, 4% Mixed, 4.5% Chinese, and 1% other ethnic groups. Rivers is an important commercial centre in its region and is home to the headquarters of some major British companies. IT, Blue University, and retail industries form the basis of River's contemporary economy. It also hosts some well-known cultural events, but in general, it is seen as a commuter city with a high cost of living.

'Blue' University (BU) is a medium-sized research-intensive Red Brick institution that was founded at the end of the 19th century. It has four campuses (three in England and one abroad), 15 academic schools, and is known for its sciences, business, and agricultural programmes. There is a distinct 'campus feel' when walking around the grounds that are walled off from the neighbouring residential areas. In recent years BU has had financial difficulties and has gone through several restructurings that involved closing departments, job losses, and increased pressure on those remaining. BU's new institutional strategy focuses on four guiding principles: community (university staff and students); excellence (in research and teaching at local, national, and international levels); sustainability (financially and environmentally); and engaged university (working with partners towards a positive impact on local communities through public engagement, consultation). BU is not a 'Civic University', but it has academics across the institution doing engaged work in and with local communities.

Sparrow is a neighbourhood that shares a geographical border with BU, but has historically been very separate from the university. One local resident (R) I chatted with over a cuppa in the community development centre said that it felt like, "us and them" and that "not a lot of people from [Sparrow] go to BU" (R). With intergenerational poverty and joblessness, Sparrow was hit hard by austerity and feels very cut off from the leafy campus of Blue University. Statistically speaking,

Sparrow is described by the IMD as the most deprived ward in Rivers with poverty, unemployment, and low education attainment noted as key issues. The Sparrow community is often described by people living outside of its boundaries in the language of deficiency with words like 'hard to reach', 'left behind', and 'deprived'. As a result, Sparrow bears this stigma which according to research done by the SPARs, has led to difficulties with teacher recruitment, banks not wanting to grant personal or business loans to people from the Sparrow postcode, estate agents not wanting to go there, and local people, especially children, internalising this stigma. However, Sparrow has a side that is often not talked about in the news - a strong sense of community where low-income families are supported by local initiatives in local community centres and local schools.

5.2.   Case Study Description

5.2.1.   History and genesis

Like many community-based projects, the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs) had a circuitous route which began with a man named Jack (A, P) who at the time, was working with the Sparrow Community Development Trust (SCDT) as a Big Local rep. Big Local is a National Lottery funded programme that has given one million pounds to 150 communities around the UK with the aim of bringing communities together to create community-led change. Jack had had previous experience working with universities and thought, "let's go to this university [Blue University], it's only over the road!". Through another connection, Liz's (A) name was mentioned to Jack as being someone who had worked with local people so he reached out to her, and thus began the journey that eventually became the Sparrow Researchers.

In 2014 Liz was invited by the SCDT to facilitate a community-led piece of research aimed at exploring the everyday travel

needs and experiences of the Sparrow community and to also suggest ways of addressing unmet needs that could be targeted with their £1m Big Local funding. Based on her previous experiences with other community groups, Liz suggested they consider using participatory methods. It was felt that previous interventions and projects by the council had often failed in large part due to the lack of involvement and participation by local residents at all stages and that people felt generally disconnected from the decisions being made that impacted Sparrow and their lives, therefore methods based on the participation of local people seemed like a good alternative.

Using Participatory Action Research methods, Liz began training a small group of local residents who had been brought together by Jack through his work in the Sparrow ward, to be community researchers (CRs) - later called the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs). Participatory Action Research (PAR) is an approach to enquiry that involves researchers and participants working together to understand and respond to a problematic situation. Liz then supported SPARs to conduct their own PAR projects on issues or themes of interest to their community (more on how they work will be discussed in section 5.2.4.). Over time, this eventually developed into a collaborative research network we'll call the 'Poppy Network', which involves local residents (adults and young people), local schools, the SCDT, Jack (A, P) (who eventually stopped being a Big Local rep), the council, a local training academy, and undergraduate interns. For the purpose of this research and the various constraints I had (time, distance, financial), I will be focussing on the adult CRs and their work as opposed to the wider Poppy Network and their various projects, for example with young people in schools.

5.2.2.   Aims

The main aims from the community researchers' perspective are quite simple - to get more local people involved and to

affect change in their local area, or as CR Colleen put it - "action by local people", as well as finding a long-term sustainable source of income for their project. In CR Jenna's words, "my hope is that the SPARs become part of the fabric of the community and that it continues to have an impact on change in the area". For CR Avery, the university can and should be supporting the SPARs' work to collectively find solutions to community-identified issues by sharing their resources, power, and expertise. There is a hope that the change created will also change the stigma in Sparrow. It appears that the aims from Liz's perspective are similar, but have an added influence. There is personal motivation and conviction based on her ethics which aims to share the university's resources and power to benefit its neighbours, make a difference in people's lives locally, as well as supporting local people to better understand and tackle the issues impacting them. Due to her academic responsibilities, Liz also aims to provide rich learning opportunities for students, achieve 'impact' that is recognised by her department, and if possible, write research outputs. The overarching aim is to empower local people to take action themselves to shape the policies and service provision in their community.

"I mean this university has done nothing for the town. It's got a really quite bad reputation for not doing anything, and the stuff they've done in the past has been very top-down. You know, 'we'll come in and do a project, we'll showcase it, take ownership and just take what we want, thanks', and then we'll draw the bridge back up basically"

-Liz, CS2 academic lead

5.2.3.   Ethos and principles

The quote to the right illustrates both the starting point and what SPARs *didn't* want to do. Relationships built on trust forming over time, as well as taking a person-centred, asset-based approach, are the foundation of SPARs. The project and the methods used centre on collaboration, co-production, and participation. According to their website, the SPARs project is committed to working in a friendly, inclusive, and accessible way where all voices and contributions are equally valued. To help break down barriers to participation and make this a reality, previous research experience is not required and training is provided. The time and effort people put into the project is valued and therefore paid at the living wage. All those involved, no matter their background, employment status, age, etc., are understood to already have valuable

knowledge based on their lived experiences - they were not empty vessels to be filled by an 'all-knowing academic'. Generating and valuing knowledge at the community level, not just in academic or policy contexts, is another important principle. The team are also committed to their research topics/focuses being resident-led whenever possible. In instances where research is driven by an external funder, it still has to fit within the broader needs of the Sparrow ward as identified by the SPARs.

5.2.4. Who, what and how

Who is involved and what they do

As has been alluded to above, the SPARs project involves different stakeholders - the university (mainly Liz - a professor of geography, research assistant Lesley (A), and student interns), the community researchers (CRs), the Sparrow Community Development Trust (SCDT), the council, and schools. The specifics of who is involved, when, and how often ebbs and flows over time and reflects the needs of the project, the individual, and the organisations involved, however, the central feature of this work remains that it is collaborative resident-led participatory action research. I will introduce the main characters in this story and explain what they do below.

As the SPARs project lead, Liz's duties within the project include training the CRs on how to design and conduct research ethically, managing the funding streams, line-managing those who are funded via university resources, supporting and managing student interns, attending meetings with stakeholders, and continually searching for funding for the project. Other, less transactional responsibilities include developing, sustaining, and managing relationships with external partners, and perhaps even more importantly, within the project team itself. More on what this entails as well as Liz's

"A lot of what we did was relationship building through research"

-Liz, CS2 academic lead

wider responsibilities will be explored in section 5.4.2.

The other main academic involved is Lesley (A), a university-paid research assistant (RA) who works two days per week on the project. Lesley helps Liz and the SPARs translate their work into 'university speak' so that it can fit within academic standards. With her academic expertise, Lesley also plays a key role in the co-designing of surveys and questionnaires, as well as helping to train and do data analysis. The project also benefits from one to three undergraduate student UROP (Undergraduate Research Opportunities Programme) interns each year. This is a part-time paid position that involves the students joining the project for one year, doing most of the work in the summer months. Their work reflects the needs of the project at that time and has included undertaking research and co-producing reports with the CRs, designing leaflets and other marketing materials for the project, and compiling stories.

The other main stakeholder group in this project is the community researchers (CRs). Practically speaking, the number of CRs fluctuates over time. They started with five and now have four to six active researchers depending on work and home responsibilities (one researcher has just had a baby, for example).

Another important person involved in SPARs is Nancy (A), the impact officer supporting Liz who is part of BU's impact team which is made up of five staff (one for each faculty). According to Liz, Nancy has been a real support for her, helping to fund Jack (A), the former Big Local Rep who continued to work on the project as a key member of SPARs. Nancy and the impact team have also helped to increase awareness and recognition for the project both within the university and outside of it.

How the SPARs work and what they do

Being a community researcher (CR) is a paid, part-time position and as CR Avery explains, involves *"a big variety of things - designing questionnaires, focus groups, interviews, and then conducting and analysing them. It's talking to people, and being interested in your community. I think that's the essence - actually engaging in the community where you live"*. Indeed, the CRs have been trained to design and use questionnaires, do primary and secondary data analysis, as well as co-producing reports.

During active research periods, Liz and Jack (A, P) try to meet briefly once a week to discuss current research as well as potential opportunities coming up. The wider team, including the CRs and Lesley (A), meet every 6-8 weeks or more frequently depending on the stage of the research they are in to discuss how things are going, questions they might have, and how to solve any issues arising. They utilise collective decision-making through dialogue and co-plan when, who, where, and how the research they have agreed to do will take place. They also take turns chairing their meetings, something I noticed whilst observing in which Liz asked the group who wanted to lead them through the agenda that day. In terms of the questionnaire design process, Liz explained that they typically go through an iterative process where Liz and Lesley have a first go at writing the questions. This is then shared and read through by the CRs who make changes and discuss the wording and any ambiguities they see, before sharing the new iteration with the partner in order to get their feedback on the questions (wording, layout, length, etc.) before it is ready to be used. I watched this careful process of them discussing a new piece of research and then collectively going through the wording of each question and observed the following;

Excerpt From Fieldnotes:

- Everyone taking notes whilst Jack explained the piece of research they'd been asked to do - have to interview 30 people in the next 4 weeks - Jack taking the lead on organising who/where/when…all taking things seriously!
- Lesley explained where a particular question came from
- Jack really asking the researchers if they liked the questions and if they made sense and if they thought they would lead to what they want to know. Seems to really genuinely want to know what they think and is taking what they say seriously. Seems to value their views.
- Avery made a suggestion to add 'other' to a question and Lesley agreed
- Jenna and Avery made more suggestions later in the questionnaire
- Lot's of mutual respect between them
- Feels like they all really know what they're doing. Can tell they've done this lots of times now.

The SPARs project was initially joint-funded between the Sparrow Community Development Trust (SCDT) and BU. Over the years, the funding structure has changed and become quite complex with Liz receiving funding from her different research projects (for example for UKRI or ESRC), as well as outside funders like Study Higher, and other bits of funding linked to different BU strategies. SPARs is not core funded, nor does it have funding for extended periods of time - the resulting challenges will be discussed later in the chapter.

Example of their work

As mentioned above, their first piece of research focused on social exclusion and mobility. As part of this project, one of their aims was to understand the travel needs in Sparrow. This was a massive project that involved the CRs, several

student interns, Liz, and other key individuals from local government and local organisations. The CRs conducted 500 face-to-face conversations using a questionnaire they designed with Liz and Lesley (A), 30 interviews with public and voluntary sector organisations, and five community focus groups. The CRs and Liz then presented their findings to the local council and the public service provider leading to a direct change of this service and considerable impact locally.

5.2.5. Where SPARs sits within the institution, and drivers of the project

As mentioned above, the project has been supported by BU's Impact Team. To some extent, this support helps us to understand the role of the project in the wider university institutional context. In my interview with Nancy (A), the impact officer, she explained that she had come to BU, "because it has an impact programme that is looking at impact in the right way". Whether this sentiment is shared and apparent will be explored later in this chapter, as well as in the discussion chapter. Nevertheless, it does highlight that BU has invested, at least in some way, in an impact and engagement programme.

Nancy has been working to increase "impact literacy" among academic staff and is currently supporting 70 projects on different levels. Nancy described what the team do saying,

> At the very, very beginning we help with their pathways to impact if they have to write
> them. We help with their planning and increase their literacy to get them to understand
> what it is that they need to be thinking about, or we help facilitate the activities that
> they already have planned if they need an extra pair of hands. We help with the
> evaluation, if they need it, collecting evidence, thinking about what evidence they need.
> Yeah and we can provide the finances to help with that (A)

Nevertheless, whilst BU has an impact programme, where SPARs sits within the institution is a bit unclear. It is included in

BU's website under their impact activities connected to research, but as the quote above shows, and based on conversations with Liz in addition to Nancy, the impact programme they have focuses on supporting the early stages of projects and does not appear to include strategy, funding or support for long-term CUPs like SPARs.

Drivers

The drivers of the Sparrow Researchers appear to have evolved over time and can be viewed from different perspectives. In the beginning, the driver came from people in the community and their need to know how their neighbours felt about an issue, but they didn't know how to capture their views and then make change happen. It was a bit of serendipity and word of mouth that brought Liz into the project. Once Liz (A) got involved and the idea of PAR and community researching was explored and adopted, the project really began to take shape. Drivers of the project then expanded to include the university and other partners such as local schools and the council. Over time, and especially after their first big research project success, the project gained attention both locally and nationally and has become a go-to example used by Blue University leaders and staff to illustrate the university's impact and engagement. For example, impact officer Nancy explained how SPARs is one of two projects at the university she uses to illustrate BU's community engagement.

However, the relationship between the university and this project is complex. In some ways, BU could be seen as a reluctant supporter and driver of the Sparrow Researchers. Due to increased public pressure to demonstrate their relevance in society and the 25% impact indicator in the REF, universities know they have to be seen to be engaging with 'the public'. Following BU's poor performance in the 2014 REF, the VC (at the time) created a 'new' Public Engagement Team (which the Impact Team fits under) by taking staff from other services and according to Liz, "stripping out the [other]

teams". How this plays out and whether BU's commitment to public engagement drives projects like SPARs will be discussed later in this chapter (especially in section 5.2) and in the Discussion Chapter.

Liz herself is pivotal in this project and its trajectory and I think has become one of the main drivers due to her passion and commitment to social justice. In one of our many chats she said

> we need to do stuff like this otherwise we're not going to change anything. And then what's the point of being an academic, you know what's the point of having my job if I can't make some kind of difference outside of this campus? And that's not a journal article, I don't see that as my ultimate goal in life – much as the REF would have me believe otherwise (A)

Within the project there is a commitment to resident-led research topics and themes as is the ethos of the project as a whole. However, in order to be able to continue to pay the CRs and because of the inadequate level of financial support from the university, the team sometimes has to conduct research that is driven by whichever grant or funder they have been working with.

As stated above, drivers of the project eventually also came from partners including local schools and the council. Both schools and the council realised that they were struggling to reach and hear from young people, parents, and Sparrow residents. This project provides a platform to explore the needs and passions of local people including young people by connecting with them. In an interview with council officers involved with the SPARs project, one explained how a further drop in the multi-deprivation levels of the IMD combined with the realisation that they needed the local voice going forward because past efforts hadn't had enough of an impact in the community, led to their involvement with the project.

The local schools and the Council are keen to reverse past failures in listening and participation rates that negatively impacted their service provision, therefore a participatory action research collaborative led by local residents is an alternative approach that they hope will lead to more success.

5.3. Fieldwork Visit Description

5.3.1. What was happening when I visited and what did I do?

I visited Rivers and the Sparrow ward on four separate occasions of between two and six days. Each visit consisted of meeting with the people involved in the project, observing various meetings with a variety of stakeholders in different locations, observing how the community cafe was used and having chats with people there, conducting interviews with the resident participants (community researchers), students, council staff, and academic/university staff, and generally working to build relationships with everyone as well as to gain a better understanding of the area.

Visit 1 - December 4 & 5, 2018

Whilst my first visit was only two days, I was able to do and learn a lot about the project, Liz, the university, the CRs, and how they are all connected. Whilst there I observed a meeting in the town hall with three council officers and Liz about a collaborative project (she was reluctantly part of - for reasons which will be explored in section 4.2), as well as observing an AGM of a learning centre in Rivers that Liz had been working with for years. The AGM was followed by a potluck celebration where people brought delicious homemade dishes from their home countries to share and enjoy together. This gave me the opportunity to observe interactions between Liz and people she had worked with, as well as being able to meet and chat with people. During this first visit I also met Jack (A, P), the (by that point) former Big Local rep, who

very kindly showed me around Sparrow and took me to the Sparrow Community Development Trust (SCDT) where I was introduced to some of the community researchers (CRs) as well as local residents and some of the SCDT staff. Perhaps most eye-opening were the several long conversations I had with Liz whenever she had the time to fit me in.

Visit 2 - February 5 - 9, 2019

My second visit was longer and allowed me to get to know people, Sparrow, and Rivers better. During my week there I spent time in the cafe in the SCDT building hanging out, observing, and chatting with three residents - one had been a CR from the beginning of the project, the other two residents were local mothers who had joined the project recently. SCDT is the main community partner in the SPARs project, houses the Big Local, and is the project base in the community (in addition to the university base which is Liz's office and her department building). The SCDT cafe is a real hub of activity with people coming in from diverse backgrounds for lunch, work meetings, various events, or just to chat with people and have something to do, so it was a great place to be to get a sense of the area and the people.

In addition to the chats described above I also conducted some more structured conversations including an interview with two council officers who had worked with Liz and the SPARs project (as well as other projects), as well as Nancy (A), the BU impact officer who was supporting Liz and the SPARs project. I was also invited to join a SPARs team meeting between Liz and three CRs (different from those I spoke to in the cafe). This was a kind of catch-up since they hadn't been able to meet since before Christmas and Liz said that she had "wanted to check in and see how everyone was doing, as well as to thank them for all of their hard work" (A). During my week in Rivers, I was also able to observe the AGM of the SCDT, as well as have a couple long conversations with Liz - mostly about what she was having to deal with at that moment in time.

Visit 3 - April 29 - May 3, 2019

In my third visit I: conducted 4 interviews; observed 3 meetings, one teaching and learning award ceremony, and the SCDT cafe; as well as having various long and short conversations with Liz over lunch, dinners, and on the way to/from meetings that she had with other people.

The first meeting I observed was a SPARs team meeting between four of the CRs, Liz, and Jack (A, P). Some of the things that stood out from the meeting and discussion include:

- Jack and Liz asked for someone to lead the meeting
- They all talked about how they needed more CRs so that their group could be more diverse, but also reflected on how difficult that was
- Update from Liz regarding one source of current funding that was coming to an end and that she had put in another bid to try to get funding for two years (to pay for the CR salaries)
- The SPARs have been invited to speak at the RGS (Royal Geographical Society) annual conference

The second meeting I observed was between Liz and the impact officer. Liz talked about how long developing relationships and partnerships takes (for example the parents group had taken six months just to form) and how this is difficult in terms of funding and the REF. They also talked about how only two projects in the 'impact group' were working in deprived areas. Liz said she didn't think that BU was doing enough widening participation and that this could impact their ability to charge £9k fees.

The third meeting I observed was between Liz, Jack, and two people from the funder, Study Higher - a two-year programme set up by the Office for Students (OFS) that was initially about getting children 13+ from deprived areas into university. The initial widening participation remit was widened and they are now also working with teachers and the community. It is because of this that they approached Liz saying that they might be able to help support the SPARs. The meeting lasted over two hours and included a discussion and update on ongoing projects and the new project Study Higher was supporting which involved a group of parents from a local school working with Liz and Jack, as well as the bid Liz had put in for further funding. The funding proposal asked for 180k, which Liz explained was high because in addition to money for the community researcher salaries, it included the salary for a PDRA which had to be 'fully costed' for the university systems. Liz said that she needed help to be able to do all of this work. A decision wasn't made then and there, but following the meeting Liz and Jack thought they might be able to get 80k. They talked about the politics involved and Liz said she thought the Study Higher board wanted "little projects that they could point to", as opposed to more messy, multi-year projects like this that were seen as "risky investments for this funding" (A).

In addition to these meetings, I also attended and observed BU's annual Teaching and Learning Awards ceremony held over the lunch period in a big hall on campus, where academics are nominated for an award by their students. Liz was nominated by one of her UROP students who had worked on the SPARs project (she won the award). Of note from my observation notes: this was for staff across the entire university, but there was a poor turn-out. Liz told me that there were no Heads of School (HoS) or Heads of Departments (HoD) in the room, just those nominated, the students who nominated them, and the winners. She remarked that had this been an award about research, the hall would have been full.

Visit 4- May 13 - 18, 2019

In my fourth visit I:

- Met again with the three CRs I interviewed in my third visit and together we co-produced their impact stories (this is discussed further later in the chapter)
- Interviewed one UROP student, Jack (A, P), and RA Lesley (A)
- I attended and observed an event in Birmingham in the place of Liz because her back had gone out and she couldn't move for several days. Liz thought that it could be of interest to my research since it was about impact, and because I would get to go 'behind the scenes' in a sense, and hear from the UKRI. The event was hosted by the NCCPE (National Coordinating Center for Public Engagement) and UKRI and brought together various leading academics and professional staff from different universities to discuss the future of impact and engagement in UK HE and UKRI's role in this
- I also observed a SPARs team meeting

I was very lucky in that I connected right away with Liz. It felt like we had instant rapport which meant that she shared her feelings and ideas quite freely with me. I also developed a strong rapport with several of the community researchers (CRs) and was privileged to be let into their lives a little bit. It is these three women's stories that I will focus on when discussing resident participant experiences in the following section.

5.4. How the Participants Experienced the CUP

This section goes to the heart of this case study and addresses the first research question - what and how the participants, including those from the community and the university, experienced the SPARs project. The section explores what people do and the various benefits and challenges they have experienced based on co-produced impact stories with three CRs, interview and chat transcripts, as well as notes from observations and my own reflections from my time in Rivers and Sparrow. Like in Case Study 1, each participant group is discussed in a sub-section, however, in this chapter, I have included the three impact stories in addition to weaving in quotes and vignettes throughout the section, allowing you to get closer to these characters with the aim of better understanding their experiences and the benefits and challenges from their own point of view. The chapter will first delve into the benefits and challenges as experienced by the resident participants, followed by the experiences of the university participants.

5.4.1. Resident participants

This section focuses on residents I spoke to, including current CRs, parents whose children were already taking part in a community research project led by Liz who were themselves going to start taking part in SPARs, local residents who were visiting the cafe in the SCDT, and residents who were working for SCDT. It begins with an introduction to three of the main characters and a brief discussion on how and why they got involved in the project, followed by the three co-produced stories about their experiences. The benefits and challenges will then be explored, drawing on the stories, as well as other data.

Community researchers and their journeys to becoming researchers

The researchers themselves have changed over the last five years, but they all live in a community that is geographically close to BU. Of the CRs I met and spoke to, the three I spent the most time with, observing, chatting, interviewing, and eventually co-writing their impact stories with, all are women who either work or volunteer in local schools, none of whom had attended university. These three women, Colleen, Jenna, and Avery, all got involved through word of mouth and personal connections in some way.

Colleen (CR) heard about the project through a co-worker who had seen the advertisement and thought it sounded interesting. She told me, "I'm doing this for myself, but it's also a way to give back to my community". Colleen's children had grown up and moved out and she felt like she "wasn't a needed mum anymore" and she decided that she "needed to do something". Colleen then encouraged Jenna (CR), who worked in the same school, to get involved. Jenna, a single parent, also had a child who had recently left for university and felt a bit lost. Both women were looking for something different, something to occupy their brains and a way to contribute to their community, so they decided to give it a go.

Avery (CR) moved from Slovenia to Sparrow in 2008. It was not until years later that she began taking continuing education classes followed by her GCSEs. All of this was with the aim to be able to help secure a good job that could help to support her family. Whilst studying she began volunteering. The staff there were very supportive and encouraged her to get involved in different activities. At one of these activities run for families, a community worker approached her and asked if she wanted to get involved with the SPARs. Her newfound confidence and positive outlook helped Avery take the leap to get involved. Avery said that "having an interest in the community gave me the initial push to get involved, and then I realised I was learning as well and felt like the outcome of the research might actually bring about change - this kept

"I'm doing this for myself, but it's also a way to give back to my community"

-Colleen, CS2 community researcher

me motivated to stay involved" (CR).

Whilst Colleen, Jenna, and Avery are at different stages in their lives, it is the first time that they have been able to do something that is just for them (instead of for kids, family, or work). They all expressed getting involved not only to benefit their local community, but also to focus on personal growth and developing themselves. Another commonality between the researchers is their connection, admiration, and respect for Liz. Each said multiple times that Liz is the reason they decided to give it a go after going to the initial meeting, and she is also a huge part of the reason they have kept doing the work. Avery illustrates this feeling when she said

> I had no idea that you could go to the uni and walk through the campus and then meeting Liz and the work that she does with the community…and speaking to a professional and a doctor - maybe that's why I decided to give it a go - because she is so lovely! It wouldn't be the same without her (CR)

"It wouldn't be the same without her [Liz]"

-Avery, CS2 community researcher

Impact stories

The idea of co-producing impact stories came about after my first two visits to Rivers. In various conversations I had with Liz she explained how she never had the time to sit down with the CRs and reflect with them on how taking part in the project had impacted their lives. She wanted to do this as she felt that it would be a valuable experience and learning opportunity for not just the CRs, but for herself, in addition to being able to have something to point to and use when she had to demonstrate the project's impact and value - whether this was for funding applications, performance reviews, promotion applications, etc. As part of my own ethical framework, I was keen to be able to do something that could benefit Liz, the CRs, and the project as a whole in return for the kindness, openness, and time I had been given for my own research. The questions that were useful for Liz were also what I wanted to know, therefore I tweaked my interview

questions slightly and then allowed the process to be quite organic in how it developed from there (the specifics of the process are discussed in the Methods Chapter).

The following is a combination of interview transcripts and excerpts from the impact stories I co-produced with CRs Colleen, Jenna, and Avery and includes a brief introduction to who they are and where they're from followed by their perceptions of the university, a reflection on what they do and how its impacted their lives, some of the more challenging aspects of the project, and their hopes for the future. Including the stories in this way gives you a sense of each CR as a whole person as opposed to reading quotes and various excerpts throughout the text that are disconnected from each other and from the individual. As was highlighted in the literature review, including stories in this way also contributes to filling the gap in the CUP and EoC literature when it comes to hearing from resident participants themselves. The backgrounds reflect the colour chosen by each of the women when we wrote their impact stories. I have used the same colour here to represent their individuality. The bold black text is of the questions I asked the researchers and the italicised sections are to highlight various bits. The pictures and photos were also chosen by the researchers as representing parts of their lives or what is important to them. Each story is presented in succession, with a discussion following after.

Impact Stories

Colleen's (CR) Story

I grew up in Rivers and was one of three kids. I've lived in Sparrow for 30 years and raised my two kids on my own. Dad died when I was 15 and that's when I started working. I went to college at 16 and worked as a professional chef for 12 years before having kids. I decided to re-do my GCSEs so that I

was job-ready after taking a break from work to raise my 2 kids. I have now worked as a teaching assistant for 12 years. I didn't go to university because it didn't feel available to me and because I needed to help my mum after my dad died.

For me personally, it [being a community researcher] has filled a gap since my kids left home. I'm doing this for myself, but it's also a way to give back to my community. *I like feeling part of my community and seeing change happen from doing the research*.

How has taking part in this project affected your life? What have you learned/gained? I enjoy going to meet people, I look forward to going to the meetings. It's lovely seeing people over a cuppa and having important chat about the community and how to create change. *I've learned about the power of research and the changes it can make to people's lives and that I can make that happen*! You realise you're not a single voice - you're part of a community.

I've also gained more confidence. Liz (A) and Jack (A, P) have pushed me out of my comfort zone - like speaking in front of a bunch of people and getting a really good response. This felt good. I was passionate because I spoke about something I care about. I've seen that there is life outside of Sparrow, like conferences, and it opens doors, windows. I would have maybe changed my job if I was younger and fitter. It has also broadened my view on the world.

Perception of the university: Before working with the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs), I'd always known the grounds. It was always somewhere I'd wondered about, *but it wasn't for me*. I worked in the catering department there for a short time - but *felt no connection*. Now I feel like the university is more accessible - somewhere to learn, or somewhere to go and walk around or have lunch - *I feel a sense of belonging now that I work with Liz*.

What is more challenging? At first, going out with the questionnaires was difficult. And stuff around finances [referring to getting paid] was also difficult - that was hard and awkward. Writing things up and not knowing what was expected of me. Not having regular hours means I can't depend on the extra income. Whilst this isn't an issue for me now, I can see how this could put potential younger researchers with young families off from joining us.

What would you change? How could it be made better? We need more people involved as community researchers including people from different
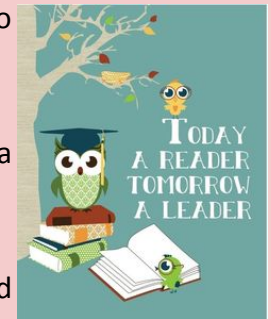
backgrounds and ages. Also, *Liz needs to be given more time* for the behind-the-scenes work as well as all the work she does with us which includes; supporting us personally and professionally, training us, encouraging us to try new things, meeting with us, etc. - giving Liz more time for *this is an essential part if we are to continue our work*. I'd also like to get a qualification, or some kind or official recognition for our work would be nice.

Do you feel valued? Do you feel that the work is valued? Definitely. Just the way Liz is. We're appreciated, we're included. We've been encouraged to do things. She's just so lovely and great. We all take our lead from her- I think you need that figure. Yes I think the work is valued - it's in a report, it looks good, it's accredited by the uni and non-academics. I've shown my friends and they think it's great - *they like that it's not just academically produced*!

What do you think is the role of community research (CR) in the community and does it have a role in the university? In the community, the role is to work toward change - so action by local people. I think *it should be part of what universities do - working with their local community and training up and supporting community researchers*.

Should the university be supporting this kind of work? In what ways? Yes! We need funding and support that is long-term - for academics and future community researchers.

Jenna's Story

I've lived in Sparrow for over 20 years where I work as a teaching assistant. I love music and art. Who I am has a lot to do with my early years experiences, and I think that young people here and now need support through their own formative years - which is what I'm trying to do through both work and the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs). I didn't go to university, but have done continuing education courses and qualifications.

How has taking part in this project affected your life? I've gained confidence in taking part in something that was completely new to me. It has enhanced my communication skills. *It has opened up the world for me* and has encouraged me to give things a go that I might not have done before. As long as Liz (A) is involved, I say yes! *I feel valued in a world where that doesn't happen very often* - we don't

stop and appreciate one another. I get excited and I'm buzzing after a meeting.

Trust and feeling supported means I can say yes to everything! Liz has been an inspiration - she made me feel that I could do it. I like being part of a community group in my community. I like learning from the group and sharing ideas and thinking about what we can do to affect change. I feel like I'm a positive person and this work lets me share that part of myself. *I also feel like I'm being heard - that makes me feel valued*. I want to spread the love - spread this feeling of being heard and being valued. That's what we all want and need.

What is more challenging? Conflict or disagreement about ideas, and then how you bash that out and proceed so that everybody feels that they have a voice. Because if you don't have that then it's not what it's supposed to be. But I think the actual meetings can sometimes be a little bit too formal, too 'let's follow this agenda' right, 'no we need to move on to the next point now'. And I get that there are time constraints and all the rest of it and we do have to get through an agenda, and somebody has to do that, somebody has to say 'look, we've spoken about that aspect for a long time, let's move on', like in Question Time or whatever. But if it was too formal, it wouldn't work.

Perception of the University: Yeah before getting involved, it was fairly positive. As an actual site I was very familiar with it. I used to come here a lot and walk my dog, and walk my daughter here as a baby. But I didn't actually know very much about what went on here. I live quite near the uni so I see students all the time.

And did you feel a connection to it, I mean did you feel that it was for you? I did actually, because of walking the dog. I remember thinking 'am I allowed to go to the uni to walk the dog, are we allowed?!', I always used to feel like I was doing something I shouldn't. And then I found out you can, you are allowed! And I felt like it is part of where I live, this university campus. But I know that generally people don't feel that, and I think people either don't know anything or they fear it a bit, 'oh that's the university, that's nothing to do with me', you know?

And did you ever feel like the university did anything for you? No, no, not until getting involved in this. No, definitely not. Before getting involved with the SPARs, I didn't feel that it did anything for the local community - in fact *it felt like two separate worlds*...even though geographically, you could shout at each other. I wonder- *is the university about the community? I feel like it should be*.

Now that I've been involved in the SPARs, I've built up relationships with Liz, her [student] interns and the place [university] itself, which has brought about a positive vibe and has broken down some of those barriers that may have been there before.

It sounds like you're saying you feel quite connected to it because spatially you are very close to it so you don't have that same, perhaps, feeling of being cut off, as others do who are living away? Yeah. And I felt like I knew it before…like when we started coming for meetings here, some of the other CRs were really 'wow' like. But I already knew the campus because of doing this walking. I used to come here, walk round, I found my way round it already, I already knew it. So that might have made a big difference for me because I knew the space. And like I cycled tonight, but I used to walk, and it feels like I live near here. It does really feel like it's not just over *there*.

What would you change? I don't know if you can have more Liz's!? Also I think other academics in the university world should mix more with us - to share our worlds and to benefit the community, and not just the university.

Giving Liz more time with us and having secure funding for the SPARs project would open up a whole world of research and community work. We also need more community researchers because right now we're not representing the community's diversity fully.

My hope is that the SPARs become part of the fabric of the community and that it continues to have an impact on change in the area.

Avery's Story

I moved to Sparrow in 2008, where I eventually took my first step toward developing *myself.* It started with Maths and English courses, progressed to GCSEs, and then volunteering. Doing these things helped me gain more confidence to get involved in my community.

Perception of the university: Before the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs), it was something unknown. *I didn't think it was connected to the community at all*. I knew there was a uni there, but it was never something approachable - and then it all changed the first time I met Liz (A).

Now my view has changed massively. I had no idea that you could walk through campus - and then meeting Liz and the work that she does with the community… maybe that's why I decided to give it a go - because she is so lovely! It wouldn't be the same without her.

What I like about being a community researcher: The things I've done as a researcher *have surprised even myself*. I used to be a really shy person - it's really changed me…and I'm still enjoying it. It makes me feel good going out and speaking to people and trying to make a difference. At first I was sceptical, but changing the life of even 1 person is so amazing! And *I think we are making a difference - I'm really proud of being part of it*.

Talking to people has changed me from trying to avoid people to actually wanting to interact with people. A few years ago, answering the landline would have been more difficult for me. *I'm just a completely different person from where I was before*. It's part of many different steps, but being a researcher has given me courage and confidence and I've had an amazing experience. I have a growing circle of friends, and I love getting to know my neighbours…*it feels like home*.

What is more challenging? Part of speaking to people will always be a challenge for me - I'm always going to be an introvert. Asking uncomfortable questions can be daunting - you never know what reaction you're going to get. Last minute meetings can be difficult for me. Another challenge is having to produce long tedious reports for funders. Also, the *university system isn't set up to support projects like ours*, making things like payroll and financing the project difficult. With maternity leave I'm worried about what it's going to be when I'm back. If they recruit more researchers, will they be better than me? It's down to my low self-esteem. There's always something…nothing is ever perfect. At a couple of meetings - someone had a strong reaction and other people fell out - this wasn't directly connected to me, but I hate confrontations.

What are your hopes and dreams? To go to university and do a degree in Management and Accounting and then find a career within this field.

What would you change? How could it be made better? We need more community researchers and more diversity! Having people of different ages, gender, religion, etc. would bring fresh and different perspectives.

More Liz's too! Especially what she does behind the scenes - all the meetings, trying to get funding, the hours, she's doing massive amounts of stuff.

And Jack (A, P) too - he's doing a lot of work, and a lot of it voluntarily. It would be helpful if Liz was given enough time from the university to do this work and for the SPARs to be properly resourced by the university and other funders.

What do you think is the role of community research (CR) in the community and in the university? CRs aim to work around a particular issue, find the reasons and solutions. As an academic place, the university has resources, power, & knowhow - so they can equip us with the right tools. And then the SPARs can go and do the research as we know our community best!

Should the university be supporting this kind of work? In what ways? Yes, we need local people doing the research, but maybe more academics supporting- being like Liz…*we should be one of the priorities!*

Where do you see community research going? I hope it will change the stigma in Sparrow. *Start with Sparrow and then go and solve the rest of the world!*

5.4.1.1. Benefits

Personal benefits

The stories and words of Colleen, Jenna, and Avery (CRs) illustrate how taking part in this community-university partnership project impacted their lives. There appeared to be many benefits experienced by the CRs as a result of their participation in community research. These benefits were both expressed by the CRs themselves or observed during my time there. Something that comes through strongly in the impact stories is the increased confidence experienced by all three women, especially Avery who stated, "the things I've done as a researcher have surprised even myself". One can see how for Avery, her experience helped her to come out of her shell and go from someone who didn't feel comfortable answering the phone to someone who is now going out and speaking to people she doesn't know, trying new things, expanding her social circle, and getting to know her neighbours. Colleen expressed how she had gained more confidence

"she [Liz] made me feel that I could do it"

-Jenna, CS2 community researcher

from being pushed out of her comfort zone and seeing people react favourably to her efforts.

This newfound or increased confidence led to extended horizons and perceptions of the world. Jenna (CR) spoke about how she felt more confident because "she [Liz] made me feel that I could do it" and that her experience with the SPARs had, "opened up the world for me and encouraged me to give things a go that I might not have done before". Colleen (CR) spoke about how she had "seen that there is life outside of Sparrow" from the various things they did as part of the project including going to conferences.

All of their experiences related to SPARs appear to have resulted in significant learning - learning about themselves and their capabilities, the power of research, research skills, and improved communication, as well as collaborative problem-solving skills. Jenna really enjoyed learning from those in the team and being able to share ideas and work through challenges and how they could affect change collectively.

The women also talked about how they got a lot of enjoyment and pride from their work - "I get excited and I'm buzzing after a meeting" (CR Jenna), and the positive impact they are having in their local community. For Avery (CR), it made her "feel good going out and speaking to people and trying to make a difference". I got a real sense that working with the SPARs had not only given Colleen, Jenna, and Avery a sense of purpose, it also seems to have become part of their identity - something that they are doing for themselves, as Colleen pointed out.

Social connections

"I've learned about the power of research and the changes it can make to people's lives and that I can make that happen!"

-Colleen, CS2 community researcher

"it's actually because of the community researchers that I got this job"

-Avery, CS2 community researcher

Another strong benefit that came through was the connections made within the SPARs team, with the community, and with the university. The bonds of friendship between CRs Colleen, Jenna, Avery, and Liz (A) were obvious to me from their manner and level of ease amongst one another, as well as the way they spoke to and about each other. They also knew about and were concerned with difficulties happening in each other's lives - going beyond the 'professional' bounds of a relationship. In addition to the strong connections formed between them, Colleen also pointed out that they also felt like they were part of their wider group and connected to the community itself saying, "you realise that you're not a single voice, you're a part of a community".

In addition to the increased connections within the group and to the community, the CRs also talked about how their perceptions of the university and their connection to it changed markedly as a result of their involvement with the SPARs project. Jenna illustrates this saying that

> before getting involved with the SPARs, I didn't feel that it [BU] did anything for the local community - in fact, *it felt like two separate worlds*...even though geographically, you could shout at each other. Now that I've been involved in the SPARs, I've built up relationships with Liz, her interns and the place [BU] itself, which has brought about a positive vibe and has broken down some of those barriers that may have been there before (CR)

Colleen said that for her, the university now feels accessible and she has a sense of belonging thanks to working with Liz.

Feeling valued

The third main benefit apparent in the data, especially in the impact stories, is how all of the above is in large part due to the researchers feeling valued. Feeling appreciated, included, and valued appears to have mainly come from how the

researchers are treated by Liz (A) and Jack (A, P). For example, Jenna (CR) stated "I feel valued in a world where that doesn't happen very often" and that feeling heard made her feel valued, and Colleen said that she felt valued "just the way Liz is". In addition to feeling valued within the team, the CRs and their work is also being valued and recognised externally by friends and neighbours, as well as wider stakeholders such as local schools and the council who are now using their reports for policy or strategy decisions. Colleen (CR) explained how, "yes I think the work is valued - it's in a report, it looks good, it's accredited by the university and non-academics. I've shown my friends and they think it's great - they like that it's not just academically produced!". It would also appear that the CRs felt a sense of being appreciated from seeing how they are contributing to positive change and 'giving back' to their own community.

For Avery (CR), her involvement helped her to get a job that she likes and that utilises her skills. For Colleen and Jenna, it has given them a new sense of purpose following their kids leaving home for university or work. Feeling listened to, valued, and supported, especially by Liz, was key and contributed to the positive experiences felt by all three women.

5.4.1.2.   Challenges

The challenges experienced by the resident participants have been split between 'visible' challenges - practicalities and accessibility, and 'hidden' challenges - interpersonal strife, difficult personal circumstances, and capacity and mutual benefit, and are based on what was said, observed, or inferred.

'Visible' challenges

Practicalities

"I feel valued in a world where that doesn't happen very often"

-Jenna, CS2 community researcher

A common challenge mentioned was "going out with the questionnaires" (CR) in the beginning - especially for those who were more shy, or for whom English was a second language, like Avery (CR). Adding to the difficult task were their research topics which included financial insecurity and food poverty. Avery explained that "asking uncomfortable questions can be daunting- you never know what reaction you're going to get!".

Another important practical challenge was around finances - getting paid by the university and the lack of regular hours for the project. Avery (CR) explained the first issue - "the university system isn't set up to support projects like ours, making things like payroll and financing the project difficult". Colleen (CR) pointed out that "not having regular hours means I can't depend on the extra income" - something that she explains is not a big problem for her at the moment since she has a job, however, she felt that the variable hours contributed to their difficulty in recruiting new CRs. The piecemeal and precarious nature of the overall project funding was alluded to by all three women who all expressed a desire for the project to be supported and funded long-term.

The third practical challenge, mentioned above, was also mentioned by all three CRs (as well as Liz) - recruiting new CRs, especially from more diverse backgrounds so that the SPARs can not only increase their capacity, but more importantly, so that the researchers themselves reflect the community more accurately in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, etc.. In addition to the unpredictable hours, this challenge is not helped by the community's negative perception of the university. Both Liz and Jenna (CR) spoke to me about how the university had historically been seen as very disconnected from Sparrow and that local people saw it as such - "oh that's the university, that's nothing to do with me" - Jenna talking about how she thinks the university is viewed by Sparrow residents. At times, this lack of trust and connection is a challenge when the

"the university system isn't set up to support projects like ours"

-Avery, CS2 community researcher

researchers are trying to get a local person to speak to them if they are seen to be part of the university. This negative perception of the university is also a challenge in terms of recruiting new CRs.

Accessibility

There were also challenges around accessibility including incompatible meeting times/days - Liz mentioned that some people could only meet in the evenings, whilst others preferred meeting during the day, making things difficult in terms of finding a time that worked for everyone. Last-minute meetings were also difficult, especially for people with young children like Avery. Formal aspects of meetings, such as agendas, were felt to be a barrier by Jenna - "the actual meetings can sometimes be a little bit too formal, too 'let's follow this agenda'". Colleen mentioned having to write "long, tedious reports" as a challenge. This was made more difficult by needing to suit the styles and expectations of either the university, funders, or other external partners - creating a potential barrier, as well as a worry in terms of unknown expectations.

> "the actual meetings can sometimes be a little bit too formal, too 'let's follow this agenda'"
>
> -Jenna, CS2 community researcher

'Hidden' challenges

Interpersonal strife

Like in all things involving a group of people, friction and disagreements often result from working together. Conflict and disagreement about ideas within the SPARs and how to proceed so that everyone felt heard was a challenge highlighted by Jenna (CR). Avery (CR) also talked about some difficult meetings where people had had strong reactions which had resulted in disagreements and fallings out. Whilst disagreements within the team were mentioned by Jenna and Avery, the details or extent of the conflicts were not shared with me. It would appear that the internal politics combined with

people's sometimes difficult personal circumstances have been a challenge for the SPARs (and by extension, Liz - this will be discussed in section 5.4.2). For example, not long before I started my fieldwork there had been fallings out within the group that led to some of the researchers not feeling comfortable going to the SCDT cafe, and some researchers not wanting to work together. This has led to a situation where there are almost two 'camps' - one group not willing to meet in the SCDT cafe and preferring to work together at the university, and the other group consisting of slightly different CRs working at the SCDT cafe. This has been difficult for people in the middle like Avery (CR), Liz (A), and Jack (A, P).

From conversations with Liz, as well as my own observations and some inferences made by the CRs, I became aware of some tension between Jack and some of the CRs. Whilst Jack had many positive qualities and a wealth of knowledge, his confidence, single-mindedness, and communication style left some of the CRs feeling put out and less likely to share and confide in him in the same way that they did with Liz. I observed an example of this tension in one of the SPARs meetings. Jack had made a broad-sweeping statement saying that "all parents want their children to do well" and I could tell that Colleen was annoyed by this and Jack's certainty because as a teaching assistant, she felt that she had a better understanding of the reality.

Difficult personal circumstances

From my conversations with Liz over time, it became apparent that there were many changes and difficult personal circumstances in the lives of the CRs and that this had a big impact on how the project was going, as well as how it was experienced by all those involved. Whilst I had connected well with the CRs, I don't think I spent enough time with them for some of these things to come up, or for them to feel that they could (or wanted to) open up about very personal

problems and challenges. Therefore most of the challenges experienced by individuals or the tensions between people in the project were communicated to me by Liz.

Examples of difficult circumstances included various health problems - both physical (surgeries, cancer) and mental (depression, anxiety). Some of the CRs were also experiencing financial hardship - having a hard time making ends meet, whilst others had problems within their families. Another challenge, albeit a happy one, was Avery going on maternity leave not long after my last visit. This represented a difficulty in terms of the project losing capacity, as well as being a personal challenge for Avery who worried about how her absence might change things for her if new CRs were recruited.

Over the course of 2 days during my third visit, someone in the team had a family crisis and someone else's daughter went into labour early so both had to leave unexpectedly and in a hurry. In the year after I completed my fieldwork the following things happened to members of the team; cancer diagnosis, major surgeries, divorce, family unrest, having to support an ill and dying parent, moving jobs, a mental breakdown from working conditions, and someone else who struggled in a different workplace. And these are just the things I heard about! The hard things that the CRs experienced in their lives had obvious knock-on effects on their ability to participate in the project as well as how they experienced the project.

Capacity and mutual benefit

The challenges of mutual benefit and capacity combined with success often present a delicate balancing act in CUPs. For example, in addition to the frequent interview requests they receive following their success, Liz and the SPARs have been

invited to present at various conferences including the Royal Geographical Society's (RGS) annual conference. Whilst these requests can represent recognition for their work as well as opportunities to expand their professional and personal networks, they also take up a lot of their time which in many cases, is not paid. It was also mentioned that Jack did "a lot of work, and a lot of it voluntarily" (Avery) - highlighting potential issues around mutual benefit and unpaid labour. As I was nearing the end of this thesis I learned of the very sad and sudden passing of Jack. This was a huge loss obviously for his loved ones, as well as for Liz and the SPARs researchers with whom he had worked with and supported for years. Jack's unique history, skills, and dedication to social justice and community development brought a lot to the SPARs project, as well as all of the practical and emotional support he provided Liz. Indeed, he was a key individual whose tragic passing is being felt deeply, leaving Liz with a very difficult task of trying to find someone who can take his place.

The issues of capacity and mutual benefit were not explicitly discussed by the CRs, however, all three women commented on Liz needing more time for the project, especially for her to be able to provide them with more support and training. Liz not having enough time to give the professional and personal support needed by CRs could have knock-on effects like CRs stepping back from the project. Jenna (CR) felt that there was also a need for other academics to get involved, not just Liz saying, "other academics in the university world should mix more with us to share our worlds and to benefit the community, and not just the university".

5.4.2.   University participants

This section describes the experiences of the main university participants I interviewed, chatted with, observed, and got to know - mainly Liz and student UROP intern Ceri (S). Liz and her background are briefly introduced before diving into the

benefits both she and the student intern experienced from their participation with the SPARs project, followed by challenges experienced by Liz. The challenges experienced are split into three broad categories; capacity, workload, and responsibilities; challenges related to the project; and embodied impacts.

Liz - an introduction

The university's involvement comes mainly in the form of Liz - the lead academic involved in this project and a real tour de force. Now a professor in human geography, Liz has been working in and with communities for the past 25 years on different place-based participatory research projects. As well as her full teaching and supervising load, Liz also leads and manages the SPARs and runs or supports other community-university projects in Rivers, as well as taking part in a multitude of other activities for the university. She is warm and gives smiles freely to those around her. She made time for me even when she literally had to run from meeting to meeting. She introduced me to her team, her department, and her work - allowing me to step into her world, if only for a short while.

The impact on Liz of participating in and leading the SPARs (from the academic perspective) is complex. Liz's work life, personal life, and health and wellbeing have all been impacted. I did not co-produce an impact story with Liz as this would not have been beneficial for her like the researcher impact stories were, therefore I do not have the same conversations and prompts as the above stories. However, I have compiled salient and powerful sections of our conversations over a two-year period which are interwoven throughout the following sections on the benefits and challenges experienced by Liz.

5.4.2.1. Benefits/positives

Liz

The relational aspects of Liz's experience stand out as being a central component. My experience of shadowing Liz and observing her interactions with the researchers as well as our many conversations reflect how much she loves the project and those involved and how much she cares about their experiences, and more importantly, their lives. The mutual respect and adoration between Liz and the CRs is clear to see. This combined with the knowledge that what she is doing matters appear to have contributed to giving Liz a sense of purpose. She has also expanded her social capital through the relationships and friendships made with those involved in SPARs, especially the CRs, as well as having increased her local and professional networks more broadly. I think in this sense, Liz's role and her work have enriched her life and impacted her sense of self in positive ways.

Liz also benefited greatly from having Jack's (A, P) support. However, his identity in the group and within this research was not cut and dry. Whilst he was initially the Big Local rep for SCDT (Sparrow Community Development Trust), the main community partner of the project - he eventually fell out with Big Local and continued supporting SCDT in a personal voluntary capacity (even though he was not a Sparrow resident) - later becoming employed by Liz as part of the SPARs project. This detail is important because it, along with his personality and skill-set, affected the nature of the relationship he and Liz had and the ways in which she could rely on him. He not only helped with some of the practical day-to-day tasks like attending meetings (the limits of which will be discussed in the next section) and taking the lead on some projects, he also was a big support for Liz by being a listening ear and a sounding board as well as providing some vital emotional support.

In addition to benefits related to the relational and emotional aspects of her participation, Liz has also benefited from more practical forms of support provided by the Impact Team. Impact officer Nancy (A) provided small pots of money to help pay for Jack's time (although this was always piecemeal and only for months at a time), as well as helping to communicate and disseminate the work and value of the SPARs project. However, there were and are limits to this support - these will be discussed later in the chapter.

Liz has also received verbal support from the VC and in theory, from the Research PVC, and she has won multiple awards for her teaching (Learning and Teaching) - the photo to the right is from an award ceremony I observed where she won one of these awards, research (Research Engagement and Impact Award - twice), and supervision - thereby boosting her reputation.

Photo 9. Learning and Teaching Award ceremony (author's photo)

Liz works as hard as she does to get and maintain the funding because she knows that it makes a big difference in the lives of the CRs and Jack. She goes to evening meetings and weekend events because that's when things in the community happen - and those things are important to her. However, these things also have a cost within the current context and confines of her institution - these will be explored in the challenges section below.

5.4.2.2. Challenges

Capacity, workload, and responsibilities

Something that stood out to me from the first time I met Liz was her relentless schedule - this has continued to be a topic of conversation, consternation, and a giant thorn in Liz's life: "My colleagues in Education see the hours I work and people
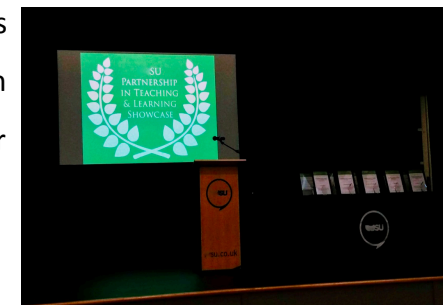
are going 'ha, ha, ha…actually, I think I'll just do it my way'. Because it is nuts actually, to be honest with you". Her workload includes a full teaching and supervisory load in addition to her admin duties - made worse by the closing of departmental offices and a 'streamlining' of administrators in BU, as well as the managing and sustaining of multiple community-based research projects. As Liz explains, "What I'm finding at the moment is that I'm doing my university work, my job, I suppose, which is my marking, preparing lectures, all of that - I'm doing it on my weekends and evenings. And then I'm spending my days in meetings". Adding to these responsibilities and the massive workload are a series of 'time drainers' - a key drainer being the need to continually search and apply for funding, as well as the subsequent management of the multiple funding streams. As she notes, "I spend a lot of my life being responsible for the monies that we've collected to do this work" (A). Liz's projects are not centrally funded, and whilst she does get some funding from the Impact Team and other various BU initiatives, these are only ever short-term, small pots of money, meaning that she must find significant funding in order to be able to pay the salaries of the CRs and Jack, as well as to cover the other project costs.

Another significant 'time drainer' for Liz is her responsibility as the (unwilling) 'civic cheerleader'. Because of the work Liz does in and with Sparrow and other local communities, she is also 'asked' by senior leaders to attend meetings and represent BU in projects that aren't of interest to her, but are where the university needs a representative who has clout and connections in the community. In a recent example of this, Liz was asked by the VC to represent BU and work on a large, multi-year project with the Rivers Council aimed at providing cultural opportunities for residents with the hope that she could use her connections with local residents to involve them in the planning. She explained that this project had taken up a lot of her time as it was a very top-down 'meeting-heavy' project, meaning that she had less time to spend on

"I spend a lot of my life being responsible for the monies that we've collected to do this work"

-Liz, CS2 lead academic

In one quick conversation we had on the phone, Liz said to me in an exasperated and frustrated 'laugh' -

*"I spend all my days in meetings… **Literally!**"*

projects she actually cared about like the SPARs. Whilst walking over to a meeting I observed for this project, Liz expressed her frustration saying, "the university talks the talk and says how much they love my project [SPARs], but they don't really support it with money, promotions, time, and so on, and instead they 'ask' me to be part of work like this" (A).

What I'm calling 'impact chasers' are the third 'time drainer'. People want a piece of the project in order to be able to tick the 'impact box' they need for their performance reviews, but as Liz explains in the interview excerpt below, they don't want to really help or take part in the project,

> the problem is, the more successful it gets, the more people just want a bit of you, and I can't tell you how many emails I get every week- people interested in what we're doing - 'can I come to a meeting?'. Everyone just wants to jump on the bandwagon, but nobody wants to take any labour. So lot's of my colleagues here, because they haven't got the impact, they just want to come to things and 'put it down' [referring to 'evidencing impact']. But when you want them to turn up to a meeting in the evening, they all run, they just think, 'I'm not interested'

Liz's situation demonstrates a lack of time to do very crucial things such as spending quality time in the community, building and sustaining relationships, developing ideas with her co-researchers, and being able to bounce around ideas, concerns, and feelings.

Challenges related to the project

Liz told me multiple times how she needed help with day-to-day support with the project because she just didn't have the capacity for everything. She has had support from Jack and another CR, but there are limits to what they can do. For example, some partners demand that Liz attend the meetings and no one else - "what I really need is time out [from her teaching and other duties] because it's all very well employing other people, but you know in a meeting today I said, 'can I

send Jack?', and they said, 'no, the heads [of schools] would like you to come'". Liz explained that this happens quite frequently, especially when the university wants to be recognised. Jack was also limited in the support he could offer Liz due to capacity constraints, personality clashes with some of the CRs, and access issues to university systems because he was not technically a 'full' staff member. To help alleviate some of these challenges with the day-to-day running of the project, Liz put in a bid for a part-time PDRA post, but unfortunately "they turned it down. So they obviously don't care" (A).

Her workload and other duties means that Liz does not have a sufficient amount of time to support the CRs professionally in the way she would like. In my chats and interviews with CRs Colleen, Jenna, and Avery, they all said how they felt that Liz needed more time "for the work she does with us which includes supporting us personally and professionally, training us, encouraging us to try new things, meeting with us, etc." (Colleen). Avery mentioned that she also needed time for the stuff "behind the scenes - all the meetings, trying to get funding, the hours, she's doing massive amounts of stuff".

Some of Liz's challenges are directly related to the challenges experienced by the CRs. Compounding the insufficient time for supporting the CRs professionally is perhaps the most crucial, but also difficult and time-intensive duty of managing the relationships and navigating the internal strife within the group. As with any group working on a project, there is often tension and disagreements between the researchers that need attention and care. Two excerpts from chats with Liz shed a bit of light on some of what she has to deal with:

> there's background been going on over Easter, which is what I was trying to sort out today. And everyone knows about it – well Jack didn't, but everyone else is aware of what's going on

So with fallouts and stuff like that, I wasn't quite sure how it was going to go. I didn't know whether anyone else had taken sides or anything like that

In the second quote, she is referring to the 'two camps' that were mentioned in the challenges experienced by the resident participants (in section 5.4.1). Liz has to tread a fine line - offering support to all parties with the aim of staying as neutral as possible - a difficult and time-consuming challenge for Liz.

Adding to the mix mentioned above, are the many difficult things happening in the lives of the CRs, Liz, and the wider team. Because of Liz's close relationship with her team, she is in constant contact with them via WhatsApp or email, and is aware of the various difficult circumstances, doing her best to support people through them. This pastoral care for the CRs and the student interns appears to come naturally to Liz, and whilst invaluable, it is also very time-intensive and is not without personal cost to Liz - something that will be discussed below.

Another challenge that has made issues of capacity worse and has impacted Liz heavily is when a key individual leaves or there is a change in leadership. As was explained above, the very sad passing of Jack has left a gigantic hole in his place. Whilst Jack had been hamstrung by some university processes, he did provide Liz with crucial support both in practical, and importantly, emotional terms, as well as having well-developed networks and relationships with many local organisations and residents. Another example of a key individual leaving is the retirement of council officer Kenneth (P). Liz and the CRs worried how this would affect the project because Kenneth had been very supportive of their approach, and they didn't think there was anyone else currently in the council who was "as involved and as much of an activist as he was" (from a SPARs meeting observation).

The last, but of equal importance, challenge also mentioned by the CRs has to do with finances. Liz talked about how there had been a continual "nightmare with my contracts and not being able to pay people" due to the CRs and Jack not being full staff members and not fitting easily with their systems and how much this occupied and worried her. Another challenge related to finance is that as a result of the lack of permanent funding, the research undertaken by the CRs has to sometimes be driven by the funder instead of being based on the needs of Sparrow as identified by the SPARs.

Embodied impacts

All of the above challenges combined appear to have contributed to negative impacts on Liz's wellbeing. Pressure from being the leader and driver of the project combined with the fear that if she left, the project would end was evident in some of our chats. "I'm actually sort of thinking, I could close it. You know I could go to Tracey (P) [the SCDT manager] and say, 'I can't do this anymore, it's a shame, but that's it… you find someone else'. Though I don't think they'll find anyone else…with the hours" (A). In a separate conversation she said sadly, "if I left, it would probably all go".

Managing and sustaining the relationships and the internal strife, as well as feeling responsible for the CR's welfare amidst an unstable funding situation appear to have left a heavy emotional burden on Liz who cares deeply about the professional and personal lives of the CRs and all those involved in her work. My interpretation of one of the challenges for Liz is that while she does a lot of pastoral care for her researchers and students, the lack of buy-in and support from her Head of School means that there is no corresponding support for her where there should be. Liz communicated to me that she feels let-down, and beyond frustrated. She says many of the following things through gritted teeth and sarcastic laughter -

Marion - so when you say you get support from higher up, what do you mean?

Liz- verbal support and they'll say - 'have an award, it's really good', and they'll write - 'Liz's work is really good' - and all that sort of stuff. But when it comes to actually doing something to make sure that the work continues, it doesn't really happen.

Liz reported feeling unsupported practically and emotionally as a result of her workload, the emotional labour, and the lack of care for her - all of which combined, have manifested themselves in her body - she is exhausted physically, mentally, and emotionally. As an example, in my last visit to Rivers, Liz threw out her back so badly that her doctor told her she wouldn't be able to work for weeks due to the danger of doing further damage. Based on our conversations and my observations, I think Liz's slipped disk was most likely a result of stress and exhaustion from regularly working 70-80 hours a week.

Another impact from all of the challenges described above is Liz's frustration and anger towards BU from the disconnect between their words and their actions. One salient example of this disconnect became apparent in my interview with impact officer Nancy (A). I was told that BU had just recently won an institutional impact award. A director in the award-giving body stated that BU was an example of a "changemaker in the research community that places impact at the top of their agenda, and works in collaboration with partners beyond academia to achieve their goals, creating positive change in the real world". BU's Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Research and Innovation stated in a press release following the news of their impact award that, "embedding a culture of impact across all areas and levels of our research remains a key objective of our research strategy". This statement struck me as a stark juxtaposition to a conversation I had had with Liz the previous day where she had expressed her utter frustration with the university and its lack of support and how she had seriously been considering voluntary redundancy. She had also gone so far as telling the VC that she was ready to walk

They'll [her Head of School & other BU leaders] say - 'have an award, it's really good', and they'll write - 'Liz's work is really good' - and all that sort of stuff. But when it comes to actually doing something to make sure that the work continues, it doesn't really happen.

-Liz, CS2 lead academic

away, upon which she said that he had said lots of nice things about her and her work, but in the end, it did not amount to increased funding or time.

Liz talked about how she had put the project first for the last five years and how this had taken a toll due to the university's lack of support. The quotes below illustrate how she was feeling:

"It's like last night - I had so many things to do and you actually just can't do it all. So the thought of taking voluntary redundancy has crossed my mind, actually…quite seriously". She doesn't see friends, do exercise classes, or see her family very much.

"Sorry to be very negative, but I've really had enough"

"Everyone's [in her department] just had enough. You can't do it anymore"

5.5. How HE Structures Enabled and Hindered the Collective and Individual Relationships and Practices in the CUP

5.5.1. Introduction

Based on interviews, chats, and observations, this section summarises the ways HE structures at varying sectoral, institutional, departmental, and project levels enabled and hindered the SPARs project and those involved. As was apparent in Case Study 1, the structures at play are often simultaneously present at multiple levels with their resulting impacts cutting across the project and the different stakeholders. However, unlike Case Study 1 with its focus on the

resident participants and Team Pink's staff team, Case Study 2 focuses on the impacts of these structures on the CRs and most significantly, on Liz (A).

5.5.2. Enabling structures

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, BU put in a significant amount of money to support impact and engagement activities. Impact officer Nancy (A) has supported Liz (A) and the project in terms of finding pots of money to help pay for Jack's (A, P) time, as well as to help communicate and disseminate the work and the value of the SPARs project. Liz has also been recognised by her institution and received various awards for her teaching, research, and community engagement work.

Another enabling structure for the project was the UROP student intern programme. Liz and the CRs both mentioned how the student interns' fresh energy, enthusiasm, and skill-sets benefitted the project in practical (especially technical) terms, thereby increasing the capacity of Liz, as well as in motivational terms.

Liz is given a degree of academic freedom which enables her to do the community-based work she is passionate about. She is also allocated (limited) time for this work in relation to her research duties.

5.5.3. Hindering structures

Sector and institutional level

Liz's take on what was happening in the school and the department and the ways in which that made her life harder is

that there were various hindering structures at the sector and institutional level. As she recognises, many of these are largely impacted by BU's neoliberal business model - a business model that according to Liz, doesn't work. Liz explained saying,

> on the one hand, they say they've got a business model about numbers on seats and research income and stuff. But it's not how they distribute resources, so it's not a business model because they're not rewarding the people that are bringing in the business (laughter). We bring in a lot of money in terms of teaching, but we don't get that share in order to support our research - that goes to somebody else.

The field-diary excerpt in the table below explains how this dysfunctional business method manifested itself in Liz's School and how this impacted her and her colleagues in the department.

Field-diary reflection on a conversation with Liz

When I met Liz in her office she had just come back from a really hard departmental meeting where some of her colleagues got so frustrated with their head of school (HoS) and his inability to change the situation, they walked out. The university is currently in financial crisis and Liz's specific school (made up of 3 departments) has a department that isn't bringing in the student numbers, and so is needing to be propped up by the geography department that is doing well (or so this is what the HoS is arguing). Liz and her colleagues in human geography are all having to teach and supervise really large numbers of students (as well as do research, and their normal admin, and in Liz's case, all of the engagement work on top of that), whilst the other 2 departments in the school have very few. They asked for more support as they feel they cannot continue to work 70 or 80 hour weeks, and the HoS said no. Hence the walking out.

In addition to Liz, other academics in her department can't manage the workload they're given with the current lack of support, which has resulted in high levels of sickness. Liz explained saying, "the amount of sick leave [in her department]. I mean people have literally been off. We've had people on stress-related sick leave for quite a long time. A lot of serious

stress-related illnesses…people have actually ended up in hospital".

As I referred to above, Liz's department's situation has added to an already full workload in her WAM (work allocation model), which combined with leading the SPARs project and her other community-based work, has led to a lack of a work-life balance as well as negative embodied impacts as described in section 5.4.2. Contributing factors to this challenge include how time is allocated and for what, and who makes these decisions. As explained above, Liz's community-based research is not core funded. She gets bits of funding from a UKRI project, ESRC, outside funders, and various BU strategies - all research-related. BUT one issue is that her WAM gives time for working in the community as long as it's part of one of these funded projects. However, her HoS cares about her teaching - not her research because that's what he's in charge of, so she said that she's in danger of losing the time she has if/when the big funded projects end.

Another issue with the WAM and time is that a lot of her time spent on community-based projects is outside of 'normal' working hours because that is when people are able to meet. Much of the time Liz spends on SPARs has to do with relationship management or other non 'research', but vital, things - this doesn't fit easily under work allocation frameworks and contributes to Liz's already high workload. Liz expressed her frustration with WAMs and how CUPs are perceived saying, "it [a CUP] doesn't fit in anyone's workstream so no one wants to particularly fund or resource it".

Funding is another related hindering structure. As mentioned above, the funding from the impact team and other BU strategies is mostly short-term - a few months up to 1 year (if you're lucky) and for small amounts. This lack of consistent and sufficient (core) funding from BU means that Liz has to constantly be searching for external funding as well as needing

"it [a CUP] doesn't fit in anyone's workstream so no one wants to particularly fund or resource it"

-Liz, CS2 lead academic

to then manage the various income streams - all of which is very time-consuming and stressful for Liz. Liz worries about being able to pay Jack and the CRs for their time and expertise and is concerned because she knows that the CRs really benefit from the extra income.

In addition to the lack of funding is the application process and structure itself. Most applications ask for clearly defined research focus, methods, outcomes, timelines, etc. However, PAR makes knowing these things before the work has begun very difficult. Liz gave one example of this saying,

> it's hard to kind of define. You know when you say to people 'we're not quite sure what this is going to look like yet'. So you put in a bid to X funder for £180,000 and they go, 'what's your programme of works', and then I go, 'well I don't know because it's co-created' (A)

An additional challenge with funding applications (and the REF) for CUPs is regarding time and expectations. One observation of a meeting between Liz and impact officer Nancy (A) highlighted how slow projects can be. Liz spoke about how long it had taken for the parent's group in a recent project to form - 6 months, and then how long she expected it would be until anything happened and the challenges this reality presented in terms of funding and the REF. Indeed, the REF presents various challenges for Liz in terms of what work and outputs are valued and supported, the length of time these projects and impacts can take, and how they are evaluated.

Liz and the CRs have published eight (at the time of writing) reports on vital current issues based on their research. These have been used by the council, schools, and community organisations like the SCDT to help inform their strategies and actions. Despite being exemplars of co-produced work, their accessible nature and usefulness to outside partners, none of

them are 'REFable' because they are not published in an academic journal, therefore in the eyes of BU and Liz's bosses, they do not 'count'. This narrow definition of 'acceptable outputs' combined with her workload have negatively impacted Liz's career - "I couldn't put in for a chair this year because of my publications. I've done everything else, but not that". CUPs and their impacts and outcomes can take a long time due to their relational and co-produced nature. However, as Liz pointed out, "a lot of this [CUP work] is longer-term, so it's quite hard. You know universities and organisations want short-term measurements, whereas actually, a lot of this is…we might see some impact in 10 years" (A) - making it hard to recognise (and be recognised for) this kind of work within current REF and funding structures.

The above challenges associated with the REF in combination with the current funding challenges in HE have contributed to the competition for resources and institutions consequently being more risk-averse. According to Liz, this risk-averseness has made it very difficult to get people "to come along with you while you work through things", referring to the beginning phases of relationships and projects and because it is "slow, it's slow scholarship". Liz explained that it's a slow process,

> because you're dealing with people that have lots of different views in an environment at the moment where everybody's feeling pressure for resources so people want to make the maximum amount of delivery in lots of stuff, so business models, all that sort of stuff. And of course, this [slow scholarship] doesn't fit into any of that.

Institutional level - BU's institutional culture

From my observations and the many conversations with Liz, it seemed as though BU's institutional culture lacked an understanding of, let alone support for, local participatory-based projects like the SPARs. Liz shared an exchange she had had with the new dean of the business school that highlights how her work at the local level is seen by some BU leaders:

He came last week to see us all and we had to do a 3 min on what we did. He sat down next to me and he goes, 'oh I know about your work because I've been to some of these things'. He goes, 'problem is, you're just doing local stuff aren't you?', and that was his thing (frustrated laughing)! He goes, 'you're the only member of prosperity and resilience [REF submission group] that's ever won an impact award in the uni', and then he went, 'ya *but you're just doing local stuff, can't you make it global, can't you just go to Africa or something?*'

Liz's quote above highlights the near-obsession with universities being seen to be 'global' for their rankings and reputations, etc. In addition to the desire for global research is the question of who's voice matters to the institution. Whilst there is the rhetoric of being 'civic' and benefiting local communities on BU's webpage, Liz points out another way in which (in her opinion) the institution views local communities and whose voice matters saying, "for example, if the pharmaceutical community thinks you're good, that's alright. Who cares if the local community don't? It's a very traditional sort of narrative that views some people as mattering more than others". These dominant narratives on global versus local and on how local voices are perceived may be in part due to a continued lack of understanding by BU leaders of local community-based participatory projects - what they take/need to be successful, and their value and potential for impacts. Liz expressed her frustration about BU leaders saying, "they just don't get it. They want impactful research and all this stuff with policymakers, but they don't know how it's done" (A).

There appears to also be a lack of understanding among the academic staff. Nancy (A) explained that she tried to explain to academics that 'impact' was not the same as dissemination and that it was something that needed to be embedded and based on listening and co-producing throughout the process, but she expressed uncertainty asking, "but how many of them take this on board?". She went on to say that the head of research understood this, but that heads of schools didn't, "because they don't have to. What they're concerned about is if someone's taking time out of their teaching to go and do

> "*He* [a Dean from BU's Business School] *goes*, 'problem is, you're just doing local stuff aren't you?'…'**you're the only member of prosperity and resilience** [REF submission group] **that's ever won an impact award in the uni**', *and then he went*, 'ya **but you're just doing local stuff, can't you make it global**? Can't you just go to Africa or something?'"
>
> -Liz, CS2 lead academic

these other activities" (A) - highlighting another aspect of this challenge that will be discussed below regarding where the power lies within BU institutional setup.

Practical hindrances

In addition to the hindrances related to institutional culture are practical challenges including the BU's funding structure for impact. It became clear that there are limitations to what BU's Impact Team supports and funds. Impact officer Nancy (A) explained that the impact team was part of a 3-year programme and that,

> once something's up and running it kind of comes out of our remit. Like if a project needs to be evaluated, I'm looking into evaluation funding, if a project needs a long-term investment then we start to look at where that money might come from [outside of the university budget] as well. Generally, we fund what's happening during the impact activities.

Their focus is on helping to get projects and relationships set up, not long-term funding and support. Nancy's description of funding 'impact activities' suggests that BU considers impact as something that can be clearly defined and measured, thereby highlighting a potential hindrance in terms of BU's narrow understanding of 'impact'. Nancy also explained how BU doesn't have anything that is external facing (like in Case Study 1) that would allow non-academics to come in and ask for project support, nor is there seed funding for residents or academics to try an idea, pointing to a potential challenge in terms of recruiting new local residents to take part in a project, or to start one of their own.

Another hindering institutional level structure is BU's procurement and pay setup. As described by both Liz and the CRs, these represent a barrier to CUPs in terms of how difficult it was getting the university to pay non-staff. The lack of administrators and departmental offices at BU was also highlighted as an institutional hindrance that contributed to Liz's

workload issues. For example, with no departmental offices left, students often don't want to go to a central hub across the other side of the university and instead go to their lecturer to ask questions about things like Blackboard - taking up an academic's time on non-academic-related questions and adding to their workload.

The support (and culture) for engaged academics seems to be lacking in BU meaning what CR Jenna has suggested, "having other academics in the university world [that] mix more with us - to share our worlds and to benefit the community, and not just the university" - is not happening. As Jenna points out, this means that the SPARs and Liz do not gain any additional support, and it suggests that BU's impact locally is also restricted.

According to Liz (A), "the university now has a business structure that dissuades academics from doing community projects". One can begin to see how all of the above hindrances including WAMs, lack of funding and practical support, the promotion structures, and the current culture of global is better, etc., - combine to make community-based work fairly unattractive to academics.

Departmental (and institutional) level

As was mentioned above, BU's institutional set-up has presented Liz and by extension, the SPARs project, with considerable challenges. At BU, Heads of Schools (HoSs) have more power in terms of what happens in their departments than PVCs and VCs. All of the income and fees comes directly to the schools, and then they pay a tax back to the university for HR and other services. Liz explained the situation saying,

> I have a lot of support from the senior uni team, PVCs, decision-makers…BUT everything
> is done at school-level, and their rhetoric is - 'I can't tell heads of school how to run their

"the university now has a business structure that dissuades academics from doing community projects"

-Liz, CS2 academic lead

school'. So if I have discussions and say, 'I can't manage the work-load, I need buy-out, I need some sort of support'- they go, 'ya ya ya, we get that. But actually, it's not my job to tell your head of school how to manage his resources. You'll have to - it's up to you to go back and negotiate'.

Liz's HoS appears to value the SPARs project in terms of its ability to evidence his school's impact, however, he has never once been to Sparrow Ward or attended any of the events or meetings over the past five years. As the quote above suggests, the HoS has refused to buy out Liz's teaching and marking. He has also rejected applications made by Liz for a part-time PDRA that would lighten the load and allow her to spend more time in the community and the researchers, as well as to expand their reach by finally having the time to engage with the many requests she has received for further collaborative partnerships.

Project level

"It would be helpful if Liz was given enough time from the university to do this work and for the SPARs to be properly resourced by the university" (Avery - CR)

Many of the hindrances at the sector and institutional levels described above have obvious impacts at the project level as well. A significant impact on SPARs and those involved in it, is the funding structure the project sits under at BU and more widely. The project being insufficiently resourced means that Jack (A, P) did a lot of work for free (and so does Liz, in reality).

Another result of the inadequate level of financial support from the university is that the SPARs sometimes have to conduct research that is driven by whichever grant or funder they have been working with. This is a frustration for the

researchers as well as Liz, who would rather not have constraints and parameters placed on them, but who understand that in order to keep afloat, they have to do a mixture of self-identified research and funder-led research.

Because Liz has to spend a lot of her time chasing and managing funding various streams, she has less time to spend in Sparrow and with the CRs, which has had an impact on the relationships, as well as the extent to which some aspects of the project were co-produced.

5.6.   Chapter Conclusion

This case study tells the story of how community researchers and a lead academic experienced their CUP. Their voices, as well as my own field diary reflections, are woven through the chapter in quotes, excerpts and three impact stories, allowing the reader to get closer to the main characters and be able to paint a picture of the scene at hand.

What stands out most strongly from this case study, and I think what makes this partnership special, are the relationships between the community researchers and the lead academic, Liz. These relationships, developed over a number of years, have strong bonds of care and emotional connections which resulted in trust and shared respect. It would appear that these relationships laid the foundation for the positive experiences had by the CUP participants. The enormous positive impacts the project has had is highlighted in the stories of community researchers. Similar to the CRs, the relational aspect was also a crucial aspect and benefit for Liz. Whilst Liz has indeed benefited from her involvement in SPARs - for example, in doing what she believes in, gaining a sense of purpose and fulfilment, expanding her social capital and reputation, etc., it would appear that these benefits have largely been **in spite of** HE structures and cultures at the sector and institutional

levels - not because of them.

Whilst the positive impacts and benefits are very strong and apparent, there were also challenges. Some of the challenges experienced by the resident participants were 'visible' - for example, the practical challenges associated with conducting research, the uncertainty of hours/pay each month, accessibility due to scheduling difficulties, unwelcomed formality, and having to write long reports for funders. Other challenges were harder to see and were more 'hidden' and included the fact that the CRs had sometimes difficult personal circumstances that then impacted greatly on them, their participation, and the project. There was also considerable internal strife and politics within the project, as well as challenges around capacity and mutual benefit. The challenges experienced by Liz were split into three categories; capacity, workload, and responsibilities; challenges related to the project itself; and negative embodied impacts.

At the combined sector and institutional level their were hindering structures that appeared to be largely a result of BU's neoliberal business model including; workloads and how time is allocated (including what is/n't included/valued); insufficient and non-core funding and time-intensive funding applications; and how impacts, outputs, and time are impacted by the REF, and how they are perceived by institutions. All of this appears to have contributed to Liz's difficulties in garnering the support and resources needed both for herself and the project. The quotations from BU leaders, Liz, and impact officer Nancy illustrated what appeared to be a fundamental lack of understanding and appreciation of long-term participatory partnerships with local people - what they entail, need, potential impacts, length, etc.. Whose voice matters was also impacted by the institutional culture with the local community voice being seen seemingly as 'less than' (because it's not 'global'!). Another potential result of this institutional culture and its misunderstanding (or ignoring) of the

"They [BU] just don't get it. They want impactful research and all this stuff with policymakers, but they don't know how it's done"

-Liz, academic lead

considerable emotional labour involved in CUPs is the fact that Liz has not received pastoral care and support for herself.

So what?

This chapter builds on and contributes to work in the field of community-university partnerships and care ethics. Although a number of studies have examined CUPs, there has not been a strong focus on the importance of the time-intensive relational and consequent emotional labour needed and given by those involved - especially the lead academic - and whether/how this fits within HE cultures and structures. This research differs from previous studies on CUPs by delving into the lives of the stakeholders, prioritising their voices, and paying particular attention to the concept of care and emotions and how this is(n't) situated within the neoliberal university. This case study also provides additional insight into: what it takes to start and sustain a CUP; how people's lives are intertwined in their work within these CUPs; how physically, mentally, and emotionally taxing trying to support a CUP can be, especially when not getting the time or support from one's institution; and how even in an institution that claims to be civic and support local engagement, there was a lack of understanding and valuing of CUPs including the practical, relational, and temporal aspects, as well as their potential for impact and transformative change.

This study highlights the importance of relationships built over time, mutual respect, and care and how these relationships blurred the more typical boundary found between 'professional' and 'personal'. It also sheds light on the massive positive and transformational impacts the SPARs project has had on the community researchers, Liz (in some respects), and the community, whilst also acknowledging the internal strife within the group and the emotional labour involved for Liz in needing to manage this as well as supporting participants when they experience difficult life circumstances. Throughout

the case study, one can see how HE structures and cultures have for the most part, hindered this partnership and those involved, especially the lead academic who experienced negative embodied impacts for reasons outlined earlier in the chapter. It seems that the benefits and positive impacts stemming from this CUP are largely in spite of the institution in which it sits, and are a result of an approach based on long-term, strong, caring relationships.

6.   Chapter 6 - Findings and Discussion

6.1.   Introduction

6.1.1.   Aim of this chapter

The Findings and Discussion Chapter serves two purposes - examining the findings of the research questions across both case studies (section 6.2), and then pulling out the key themes and putting them into conversation with the literature and debates on who and what universities are for and the 'care-less' academy (Mountz et al. 2015) (section 6.3). In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate how my findings make a contribution to our understanding of what I argue are the essential and interwoven relational and temporal aspects within Community-University Partnerships (CUPs), as well as highlighting how they are enabled and hindered by current HE structures and cultures. I will compare and contrast the findings, privileging the voices and lived experiences of the resident and academic participants across the case studies, as well as putting forward arguments on the wider implications for CUPs, care in the academy, and the wider civic university movement.

My conceptual framework applies an Ethic of Care (EoC) and Slow Scholarship (SS) lens to CUPs in the HE context. As was outlined in the literature review (see section 2.4), EoC and SS are particularly helpful to this thesis, for example in their interrogation of what they argue are gendered and uneven power relations within the academy (Ropers-Huilman and Winters 2011), as well as putting forward critiques of the neoliberal temporal regimes and audit cultures (see Halberstam 2011; Meyerhoff et al. 2011). Other ways in which these concepts are helpful include their belief that the human experience is relational, and therefore interdependent (Bartos 2019; Robinson 2011); the emphasis and value they place on relationships, care, emotions, time, and different forms of labour (see for e.g. Puawai Collective 2019; Mountz et al. 2020); as well as their argument that these should be made visible (Askins and Blazek 2016), thereby helping to see what is otherwise often hidden or ignored, and making them a useful lens through which to analyse CUPs and how they are experienced. This chapter extends this literature by focusing on an area that has so far, been under-researched - CUPs and CUP participants (residents and academics).

In the following pages, I will discuss how applying this lens allowed me to engage with and gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of resident and academic participants as well as the powerful benefits and transformational aspects of their CUP experiences. I use this lens to highlight where care is and isn't happening in the academy, and specifically CUPs, and also draw attention to the under-researched disconnect between the HE civic and impact rhetoric and the reality on the ground, arguing that current neoliberal-driven HE practices/cultures (Held 2006; Lawson 2007) are largely incompatible with CUPs and can lead to engaged academics being disproportionately negatively impacted (embodied impacts as well as career prospects), as well as disincentivising slow relationship-based work in and with local communities.

6.1.2. Organisation of this chapter

This chapter is split into two main sections - the introduction and a discussion of three key themes, followed by a very brief conclusion. Before diving into the thematic discussion I will take you back to the beginning and recap the context of each case study followed by a brief summary of how I answered the research questions - drawing out the main differences and similarities across both cases, and enabling me to highlight the key themes/areas that will be explored in the following section. The thematic discussion section is split into the three main themes that emerged from the data including; (1) the relational, care, and emotions; (2) time; and (3) HE structures, practices, and cultures.

6.1.3. Recap of both case studies

Set in the city of Hills, Case Study 1 (CS1) explores a project at Pink University (PU) called Team Pink (TP). TP was part of PU's (resourced) civic strategy and is a long-term, place-based (focused on the ward - Milton) project housed in the architecture school and led by academic Sinead and the TP staff team. TP works with academics from across the university and can include activities/projects that are teaching, research, or community-led as long as they are based in Milton and address the needs and desires identified by the Milton community. The case study chapter shares TP's meandering and organic early days as well as the complexity of its set-up and the relationships within and between it, PU, and the wider Milton community. My research focused mainly on; the TP team - specifically Sinead and her architecture students and their projects, and project manager Bethan; Lowri, an academic from the Business School who incorporated working with the Milton community with the support of TP; and residents with varying levels of involvement from highly involved - from being on the steering group, to more short-term engagement experiences.

Case Study 2 (CS2) takes place in the city of Rivers and Blue University (BU) and focuses on academic Liz and the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs) - a community-university research collaborative. Like Case Study 1, this is a long-term, place-based CUP which focuses on Sparrow, a ward that shares a boundary with BU. Unlike PU, BU does not have a civic strategy. My research focused on the lived experiences of several of the main community researchers (CRs) as well as project lead Liz.

A key difference between the two studies is that TP is a platform of projects involving academics across different disciplines and departments engaging with many different students, residents, and community organisations, whereas Case Study 2 revolves around one project, one lead academic, few students, and a smaller number of resident participants. Another key difference is that whilst Case Study 2 is research-based, Case Study 1 is a mixture of research, teaching, and civic-based projects (however, within the three options, they are more heavily teaching-led).

6.2. Findings Across Both Case Studies

6.2.1. Research question 1: How are CUPs experienced by the participants?

6.2.1.1. Benefits experienced

As discussed in CS1 and CS2, residents involved in TP and SPARs both highlighted the relational and social aspects as being the biggest benefit from their experiences with the CUPs, echoing some of the literature on engaged scholarship which views relationships and connections between those involved in partnerships and collaborations between the university and civil society as being at the heart of engaged scholarship (Cuthill et al. 2014; Bechara and Van de Ven 2007). The

friendships made over time between residents and TP staff or between the CRs and Liz, for example, were crucial in their positive experiences and also benefited from the informal nature of many of these interactions. This appears to extend the literature in highlighting the beneficial role that informality played in the relational and social aspects of the CUPs. Residents also spoke about how they had enjoyed the collaborative aspect of the projects and how it felt good getting to know people they wouldn't otherwise have met, all of which resulted in feeling more strongly connected not only to their communities but also to their respective universities as a result. The importance of meaningful connections is a key aspect of SS (Honore 2005). Similar to the resident experience, the university participants also cited the social and relational aspects as being the strongest positive for them. The enriching relationships, friendships, and strong emotional connections that evolved over time between the participants in both case studies jumped out at me as an important theme both during my fieldwork, and then again during the analysis stage of this thesis.

"when I'm more involved it makes me feel like I'm part of Milton"

-CS1 resident participant

Similarly to London et al. (2011), the other overarching benefit shared by the participants across both case studies was the learning that took place. Related to the theme of capacity-building in the literature (Banks et al. 2013), the CRs in Sparrow as well as students in CS1 spoke about how they had learned about themselves and their own capabilities, had gained research skills and learned about its power, and they had improved their communication and problem-solving skills. A resident participant in Milton shared how for her, working with PU and TP had provided the space and time to reflect on and interrogate her own knowledge, something that doesn't happen often, yet something incredibly valuable (see section 4.4.1.1 in CS1). PU academic Lowri spoke enthusiastically about how working with TP and embedding collaboratively working with Milton business owners into her teaching had not only benefited her students by helping them to relate the classroom learning to the 'real world', it had also challenged and helped her become a better, more innovative teacher. In

"Trust and feeling supported means I can say yes to everything! Liz has been an inspiration - she made me feel that I could do it"

-Jenna, CS2 community researcher

a similar vein, Sinead explained that her involvement had enabled her to be more creative and experimental in her teaching and that she had changed the way she approached working on a community project - especially in terms of its longevity - now seeking partnerships instead of projects. Both Sinead and Lowri also spoke about how having a team and working with academics from across PU enabled shared learning and support. Students in both case studies talked about how their experiences had fundamentally changed their world views and influenced the direction in which they wanted to travel following their studies. These benefits reflect Quillinan et al.'s (2018) discussion on transformative experiences as a result of participating in a CUP.

The caring relational approach taken in both case studies helped those involved feel valued and more confident to learn and try new things, which then led to further confidence boosts and a widening world-view. Confirming the discussion on what transformational partnerships entail (see section 2.3 in the Literature Review Chapter), this finding was evident with the CRs who talked about feeling heard and therefore valued, especially by Liz, but also when their research was published into a report and referred to by the council, or a local school, for example. This external recognition helped them feel appreciated, listened to (Quillinan et al. 2018 discuss the importance of listening), and proud that their collective work was contributing to change in their own communities. Seeing an impact on residents, students, and the wider community was also cited in both case studies as contributing to feeling valued and good about one's self, as well as helping in the recruitment and retention of participants. In the case of TP, most of the academic participants I spoke to said they felt supported by the TP team, but unlike at BU, they also felt supported by their department and institution, helping them feel able to try out new ways of working.

"I feel valued in a world where that doesn't happen very often"

-CS2 community researcher

6.2.1.2.   Challenges experienced

With respect to the challenges experienced by the participants - some were 'visible', for example, issues around practicalities and recruitment, accessibility, capacity and mutual benefit, whilst others were more 'hidden', for instance, interpersonal strife, difficult life circumstances, and embodied impacts. Below I summarise the similarities as well as differences between the case studies.

Visible

Resident and university participants in both case studies shared more 'visible' challenges that could be seen as practical - for example, finding other residents and academics to participate in TP and SPARs projects, as well as recruiting people willing and able to take up key roles (for example as a CR in SPARs, or a community or university project lead in TP). This difficulty speaks to the previous discussion on perceptions and the biassed negative attitudes held by some in the academy toward community partners (Vazquez Jacobus et al. 2011), as well as residents being distrustful and having negative attitudes toward universities, often as a result of previous engagements that made them feel used (Butterfield and Soska 2004; London et al. 2011). A lack of capacity to volunteer as well as impractical or inaccessible meeting times/locations for residents contributed to this challenge, which was slightly different in Rivers due to CRs being a paid position. One student in CS1 highlighted a connected challenge of reach and representation, saying that whilst they had done some really good work with local Milton residents and children, the overall level of engagement was fairly small because they hadn't managed to entice and engage more people.

Whilst being able to pay people for their time was a financial benefit for the CRs, the lack of regular hours made it difficult

for people who needed to be able to depend on the extra income to commit to being a CR. This was a challenge that also affected Liz, who was constantly seeking and managing various funding streams and worrying about not being able to pay the CRs. Whilst TP didn't pay most resident participants, they did pay some people - such as the local artists working with Sinead on some of her modules. In these instances, they experienced similar difficulties to Liz and the CRs in terms of navigating the university payroll systems not designed for working with individuals and local small businesses. This brings up questions including mutual benefit (see for e.g. Northmore and Hart 2011), time, and experience and the different ways in which they are navigated. Whilst TP didn't pay resident participants in the same way as in the SPARs project, Sinead was very aware of the potential uneven level of benefit and tried to minimise the 'ask' placed on the resident participants which became greater the more success and exposure TP gained, resulting in frequent requests for interviews with resident participants, for example.

Other practical challenges experienced by some resident participants included research process-related struggles for the SPARs - for example, needing to ask difficult and personal questions in their interviews and having to write their findings in "long, tedious reports" (CR Colleen). Formality (for example in meeting location and formatting) came up in both case studies, but perhaps more strongly in Case Study 1, and how stifling and negative it could be. Another visible, but more difficult challenge to discuss was the mismatch (ethnically, culturally, economically, language, etc) between the Pink University participants and the community of Milton (see section 4.4.1.2.) and its impact on the relationships and the projects themselves, including how they were viewed by local residents (not involved directly).

A significant challenge highlighted in both case studies was the incompatibility between institutional cultures around risk,

time, and what is/isn't valued and participatory research. Sinead illustrates the complexity of this challenge in her explanation of the process where she states

> say a community member has an idea for research, you work with them to develop the research, and then you do the research and then you publish it. But that adds an extra stage, and that extra stage [co-producing the research with a resident] might be a couple of years. So then what's the benefit of doing that? And it's like well, the benefit long term is that it's bottom-up, co-produced research that may lead to really meaningful impact and may raise questions that wouldn't have been raised otherwise. But you've got to convince people that you can give academics the time to do that. And to convince academics that it's worth taking the career risk, because that's where you do have the career risk, because you could have a 2 year conversation that leads to nothing, so how do you evidence that?

Perhaps the biggest challenge experienced by both lead academics was their lack of time and capacity for all of their competing and simultaneous responsibilities. This was particularly visible and acute for Liz (see section 5.4.2.2.) who looked exhausted and expressed her frustration with her workload, needing to represent BU's 'civicness', and the lack of time she was left with for the work she loved most - working in Milton with the CRs (as well as all of her other community-based work!). In addition to Liz's workload and other university responsibilities, her capacity was further impacted by the lack of support with the day-to-day running of SPARs.

Due to all of these pulls on her time, Liz didn't have enough time to support the CRs with their professional development, nor did she have sufficient time to manage the relationships and the internal strife within the SPARs project in the way she would have liked. In addition to this, she did not have enough time to support CRs, and students experiencing difficult things in their personal lives (for example illness, stress, job losses, financial struggles, bereavements, family issues, etc) -

often these things impacted heavily on their ability to participate in the project. These challenges highlight the essential and time-intensive role caring has in these partnerships, as well as a key distinction between the two case studies. Sinead appears to have experienced fewer of these challenges due in part to the presence of a staff team who were able to share the tasks and burdens. The impact of having a team will be discussed further in the recap of the second research question.

Another shared challenge was that of the loss of key individuals either internally or externally. The loss or change of a key leader involved could impact the support level or how a project is received - for example, TP were anxious when the person overseeing the overall TP project changed from the VC (who had been instrumental in its inception) to a pro-VC of research who had never engaged with TP or the project. Over the years TP have also lost a lot of the initial key residents who had formed the early Pavilion steering group due to people moving away, burnout (De Castro et al. 2004), or no longer having the time to commit to it. Liz and the SPARs suffered a terrible loss when Jack, a key member and driving force of the project as well as a huge source of support for Liz, suddenly passed away. In addition to this loss, another key, supportive individual and partner from the local council retired, adding to the uncertainty and fragility of the project. The coming and going of key individuals is par for the course in long-term partnerships, but nevertheless can pose significant challenges at the project level in terms of capacity and increased pressure on those still there, as well as the longevity and future of CUPs when supportive key people in positions of power leave or change.

Hidden

In addition to, and often tightly connected to the 'visible' challenges described above were the more 'hidden' challenges - indeed, many of these happened as a result of the 'visible' challenges. One challenge, both visible and hidden at times,

that cut across both studies and was experienced by all the participant groups was the pressure felt by key individuals as a result of the challenges described above. The pressure on Liz was plain to see, however, the pressure some resident participants felt was more subtly shared with me by the residents themselves, or through conversations with Sinead and Liz - for example, speaking about their concern for the key resident participants being overloaded with interview requests.

There appeared to be some differences between the case studies, too. Whilst the CRs in CS2 I spoke to and got closest with were a tight-knit group with strong connections and good working relationships, not all was rosy all of the time. Through conversations with Liz, I came to realise that 'behind the scenes' there was interpersonal strife within the SPARs project as well as difficult life circumstances experienced by many of the participants in CS2 - a theme discussed in Wood et al. (2020). The internal politics within the group combined with people going through really hard things in their personal lives led to sometimes tense and difficult situations for the CRs as well as for Liz whose role was to try to stay neutral and supportive whilst attempting to manage the problems and keep the work going at the same time. All of this relationship management and emotional support takes time and represents what Arlie Hochschild (1983) termed 'emotional labour' - a theme that seems particularly important for Liz and for this thesis. Whilst I'm sure that TP had its own fair share of interpersonal challenges within the team and within their many projects, it is not something that was either apparent or mentioned in my interviews. I think that the type and depth of the connections and relationships were perhaps impacted by the size and scale differences between the two case studies. The SPARs project has been going for years now and involves a small group of CRs who Liz meets with regularly. TP, on the other hand, have many different partnerships and projects of varying length and focus happening simultaneously.

For Liz, not having sufficient time for all the above challenges combined with feeling unsupported by her department and institution in practical and emotional terms led to a lack of work-life balance, frustration and anger, and 'embodied impacts' including her back going out - impacts that are reflected in more recent literature examining the contemporary university (Mountz 2016; Parizeau 2016; Peake and Mullings 2016; Todd 2020). Again, I'm sure that Sinead also experienced pressure and stress from her workload and other responsibilities, however, it appears that having institutional support in practical terms, as well as having a staff team to share the emotional burdens (as well as the practical aspects) helped her have a higher level of wellbeing. There was an exception, however, with Laura - the academic who felt frustrated and unsupported because her engaged work fell outside of TP's geographical area, and therefore was not able to be supported by TP in the same way (see 4.5.3.). Her situation demonstrates a limit to TP's place-based approach (this will be discussed further in the following section).

Another distinction between the two case studies was their willingness or aversion to doing 'deeper work', as one resident participant termed it. One resident in CS1 who had been involved from the early days of TP and was on the pavilion steering group spoke about how she felt that TP sometimes backed away from having uncomfortable conversations, for example when people in the community disagreed about what and who the pavilion was for. She understood that this was difficult and time-intensive, but felt that it was very important. A different resident expressed her frustration saying that in her experience, TP had been resistant to delving into difficult topics with young people on things that were currently impacting them, like knife crime, and instead focussed more on the 'positive and aspirational stuff'. This experience sheds light on the potential for gatekeeping and suggests how difficult building relationships whilst remaining open to a diverse set of participants and communities can be. This is in contrast to CS2 where the focus of the work has focused on sensitive

topics such as people's finances, and the relationships between Liz and the CRs are such that uncomfortable conversations are able to take place due to the trust and closeness between them that has developed over the years of working together - aspects reflected in London et al. (2011) .

6.2.2. Research question 2: How do HE structures/cultures enable and hinder the collective and individual relationships and practices in CUPs?

6.2.2.1. Introduction

In this section I will briefly summarise key enabling and hindering structures, comparing and contrasting them across both case studies. Whilst the participants experienced many similar benefits and challenges in both studies, there were significant differences in the HE structures and cultures between PU and BU, as well as in terms of where the respective projects fit within their institutions. The discussion below highlights these differences resulting in what might appear as an imbalance between how the case studies are represented, especially in terms of CS1 being clearly more advantaged by the structures and cultures over CS2. I acknowledge this imbalance and maintain that it is justified for reasons that will be outlined below. Following on from this brief summary of the enabling and hindering structures will be a discussion that seeks to extend the literature through its focus on the three primary themes from the data - relationships/care/emotions, time, and HE structures and cultures.

6.2.2.2. Enabling structures

One of the most striking differences between CS1 and CS2 was the level of institutional support for TP. PU developed a civic strategy that included five flagship engagement projects - one of them being TP. As a result of this, TP was given

resources and funding for the TP staff team, Sinead's time, and seed funding for residents and academics wanting to try out an idea. Having a commitment and tangible resources from PU for three, then extended to five, years enabled TP to grow and evolve without having to constantly be searching for and managing multiple income streams like in CS2, thereby removing a considerable time-intensive source of stress. Another contrasting enabling institutional structure with BU was PU's promotion criteria that included 'excellence in engagement'. This benefited academic participant Lowri and helped to make this kind of work more appealing to potential engaged academics. Lastly, TP benefited from what eventually became more flexible procurement and pay procedures as a result of Sinead utilising the relationships she developed in the Leadership Programme, to convince leaders of those departments to make changes to their systems. Whilst it is still not perfect, it has meant that they are able to hire local small businesses and organisations as well as pay resident participants more easily than before. As was evident in CS2, fighting BU's financial processes has been an ongoing challenge for Liz and by extension, the resident participants. CS1 echoes Mtwawa et al.'s (2016) findings that a project's success was related to and impacted by the level of commitment to engagement in a university's core policy and practice, suggesting that PU's civic strategy and their support for TP have significantly benefited the project.

In addition to enabling structures at the institutional level, TP academics also benefited from support at the departmental level. For example, both Sinead and Lowri were able to incorporate working with TP and in Milton into their teaching, meaning that they had time specifically allocated for (some of) this engagement. Obviously, doing engaged teaching is a choice that not everyone wants - as was the case for Liz (A) in CS2 and Laura (A) in CS1. However, having the option and support to incorporate working with the community into one's teaching and having this included in one's WAM appears to be one way in which a major challenge - the lack of time due to ever-increasing demands placed on academic staff (Berg

et al. 2016; Mountz et al. 2015; Moorish 2019) - can be partly addressed. In Sinead's case, her discipline and architecture's more experimental and 'hands on' approach meant that her HoD was already comfortable with things like engaged teaching or live teaching. The openness to experimentality and place-based working by Sinead's HoD was not echoed in Liz's school or department - representing another barrier for her. In Lowri's case, the Business School's rebranding as a 'public value business school' meant that she was able to garner support from her department in part because her collaborative working with local business people and the evolution of the different projects fit within this new framework.

Three enablers stand out at the project level: having a staff team, time, and the flexible and wider-ranging criteria and expectations of outcomes and direction of the individual TP projects. They stand out because they are in stark contrast to CS2 and because of the big impact they had on the participants, the relationships, and the CUPs themselves. Having a staff team meant not only that the responsibilities and emotional labour were shared, it also meant that Sinead did not have to possess all of the necessary skills and knowledge herself. Instead, she was able to bring in people with different, yet complementary skills, experiences, and positionality - all of which benefited the projects and by extension, the resident participants. Whilst Liz has her team of CRs and the support of an RA one day per week as well as Jack's support up until his passing, she is not able to share the workload for a variety of reasons - capacity, lack of skills, or institutional structural barriers being some of these. And since much of the emotional labour comes from her work with the CRs, she can't share the load or seek support from them in the same way that Sinead can with her staff team.

Another key enabler of the projects was the time given to TP in CS1. They were given one year to test out the idea of a partnership between PU and Milton and to begin to build a relationship with local residents- something that appears to

have led to higher levels of trust between the Milton community and TP, laying down the groundwork for future projects. As time went on and TP continued to grow and gain recognition, other PU academics appear to have realised that this wasn't a short-term project and that it was something worth joining. Whilst the SPARs project evolved over time, Liz (A) was not given specific time just for relationship building or to explore the possibility of a partnership, meaning that she had to fit this work into her WAM in whatever way she could (often this meant that it didn't fit, and was in addition to her workload).

Time to build, develop, and maintain relationships with community members and organisations is part of what Bethan (A), Asad (A), and Sinead (A) do. And whilst Sinead's WAM will be different from Bethan and Asad's work duties, the fact that she has people with time expressly allocated for the relational aspect of the projects is hugely beneficial for her, the projects, and the participants. Being allowed to and then deciding to take a long-term, slower approach appears to also have enabled experimentality, serendipity, and informality to happen in TP - things that were beneficial to the learning from and evolution of the projects, as well as for those who struggled with formality. Informality was also important to some of the CRs in CS2 and was both a challenge at times in terms of in meetings for example, but it was also a positive feature within the relationship between Liz and the CRs. The essential connection between the temporal and the relational aspects in both case studies has emerged as a key theme in this thesis and will be elaborated upon in section 6.3.2.

The last main distinctive project-level enabler is the flexible and wider-ranging criteria and expectations for the direction and the outcomes of the individual TP projects. For example, projects can be teaching, research, or community-led, and

they don't necessarily have to result in research or teaching outputs/projects. Ideas can be tested to see if there are sufficient levels of need, interest, and capacity in both the university and the community, in which case a longer-term project and partnership might form. Unlike CS1, CS2 is not a platform of projects and they have a different setup, including much more rigid project criteria and expectations for outcomes from BU. For example, they are not able to do activities unless they involve research or teaching and it would not be acceptable to have the outcome of a project be that the idea wasn't feasible, thereby leaving significantly less room for experimentation and perhaps making participatory processes more difficult on occasions where Liz has to make decisions for funding or project bids before having been able to make those decisions collectively.

6.2.2.3. Hindering structures

When reflecting on the biggest challenges and hindering structures in the case studies, the thing that stands out most is the lack of time (especially in CS2) and the connection to WAMs. For Liz, there are multiple time-consuming aspects coming from different places resulting in increased pressure and stress from a mounting workload. Liz (A) is often asked by senior leaders to represent BU and their civic or community engagement in projects or meetings - taking more of her time. Then there is her work with the SPARs and her other community-based research projects which, as discussed above, require significant time-intensive relational and practical work. This brings up the complex issue of what is valued by the institution and how time is allocated in WAMs. Unlike Sinead, Liz has not embedded her CUP working into her teaching, and instead has it as part of her research work, meaning that her allocated time is dependent on whichever research project she is currently working on or when she can incorporate the SPARs into another research project. In essence, because SPARs is a long-term ongoing project without long-term funding (unlike TP), it continues, at times almost

"it [a CUP] doesn't fit in anyone's workstream so no one wants to particularly fund or resource it"

-Liz, CS2 lead academic

independently, from BU. In addition to this, many of the essential things Liz does in her community-based projects - relationship management, dealing with internal strife, supporting residents, students, or other colleagues going through really difficult life circumstances, etc. - don't fit within the WAM and appear to be undervalued by the sector in general. As was discussed in CS2, Liz doesn't have enough time to do all of the different aspects of her work, especially the relational aspects involved in her participatory research projects that aren't included in her workload which has meant that Liz is working evenings and weekends and all hours in between. This combined with a lack of support from her institution has led to embodied impacts such as exhaustion mentally and physically, illness, back issues, to name a few I witnessed over the course of one year (see quote to the right). Whilst embodied impacts have begun to be discussed more widely in the literature (Mountz 2016; Parizeau 2016; Peake and Mullings 2016; Puawai Collective 2019; Todd 2020; Wood et al. 2020), these studies have mainly focused on academics in general, therefore this research extends this literature by focussing on the experiences of engaged academics who I argue, are disproportionately negatively impacted by neoliberal HE structures and cultures.

Whilst Sinead's situation is different, she did speak about having to work hard especially in the beginning, to explain what CUPs and their value was because they were perceived as an 'add-on' and not core to work allocations - a sentiment reflected in Fitzgerald et al. (2012). Whilst it would appear that things have improved, conversations I had with other PU-engaged academics pointed to a continuing ambiguity around what aspects of CUP-working were included in one's work allocation and a lack of continuity across different departments. The situations in both case studies highlight the continuing uneasy and at times ambiguous fit that this slow, long-term, community-based kind of work has within current HE structures. This presents a significant barrier for academics doing (or considering) community-based work in terms of

Me- so how do you think this [the pressure from her workload and other responsibilities at BU] has been impacting your mental health?

Liz- "*me? **I'm very tired, and that's why I was really ill over xmas**. It's like last night- I had so many things to do and **you actually just can't do it all**. So the thought of taking voluntary redundancy has crossed my mind, actually…quite seriously. But I feel I'm not ready [...] I don't want to leave all the other really good stuff that I do*"

whether, and how (to what extent) the different aspects of CUP-working, including time for relationship building and sustaining, are included in WAMs (and whether there is support in general, as well as recognition).

Closely linked to the lack of time and WAMs is the Research Excellence Framework (REF) (see REF 2021b). They are linked in the way that the REF defines (or is perceived to define) impact and outputs - thereby influencing what is/n't valued by HEIs and academics (McNamara and Fox 2020). For example, Liz explained that she and the SPARs had published eight reports based on their research on the issues facing Sparrow. These accessible, relevant, and timely reports were used by the council, schools, and other organisations, helping inform strategies and action in the community. However, because these were not published in academic journals, they were deemed 'unREF-able', and were not 'counted' as publications by Liz's manager - hindering her ability to go for a promotion. A similar frustration was shared by CS1 engaged academic Lowri (A) who said,

> we don't have many research papers as an outcome so it's not seen as being measured very well. It's really frustrating because we have literally, *massive* impact, but because we haven't been able to disseminate that in an academic context, we're not able to capture this in any way for REF, which is SO frustrating and such a shame

This highlights two things - one is that the engaged academics in both CUPs lacked the time to produce 'REFable' journal articles in addition to the other forms of dissemination and knowledge sharing they have already done, the other important thing highlighted is that what is valued in HE in terms of 'impact' is often still (too) narrow in scope. This highlights the need for broader pathways and criteria that recognise different forms of impact and outputs.

In addition to personal impacts, it also impacts the standing of the departments involved due to them not being able to

conform to or 'fulfil' the evaluation criteria, and therefore not 'benefiting' the department (in neoliberal metrics terms). In this sense, one can see how managers needing to hit 'targets' within the competitive 'market' that is now HE, are dissuaded from supporting CUPs that are long-term, collaborative, and unpredictable in nature. The temporal aspect of impacts stemming from slow scholarship like that of TP or the SPARs - for example how long they take to 'set up' and then come to fruition - appear to be misunderstood and do not fit within the relatively short cycle of the REF (and funders), posing another barrier for engaged academics and CUPs. The experiences across both case studies highlight one way in which the REF influences what is and isn't valued as well as how it can and does impact engaged academics and CUPs. These experiences also shine a spotlight on how neoliberal principles and practices now embedded in HEI structures like the REF, are affecting how both impact and outputs from CUPs like the SPARs and TP are(n't) recognised or as valued by the REF - or perhaps by those in positions of power (especially departmental managers) and their interpretation of the REF criteria (see Murray 2018 for a discussion on this). The experiences of Sinead, Liz, and Lowri speak to the broader discussions of value and risk and how 'success' and 'failure' are conceived in the neoliberal university.

Intersecting with various temporal pressures, the last key hindering structure is funding - both internal and external. As has been described, funding from BU for the SPARs project and their wages is short-term and insufficient, meaning that Liz has to continually seek, apply, and manage multiple income streams - all of which is time-consuming and stressful, as well as worrying for current CRs who might be depending on this income, and off-putting for potential new CRs. Funding applications also present a challenge in their length, criteria, and often inflexible nature in terms of requiring the identification of topic, methods, outputs, etc - all of which are antithetical to participatory methods such as those taken by Liz and the SPARs. In addition to the time needed for applying and managing funding, having external funding has meant

that the SPARs have at times had to change the focus of a piece of research in order to fit with a funder's requirements - something that TP has not had to deal with. Indeed, as stated above, TP has been better resourced and funded over a longer period of time meaning that Sinead and the TP staff don't need to spend an inordinate amount of time applying for funding, but there is still an element of precarity and uncertainty in terms of its long-term prospects. As described in the Case Study 1 chapter (see section 4.2.1.), TP has been supported and valued by BU thanks to a then-new VC's civic ambitions and university-wide strategy - this amongst a backdrop of increasing fees, public dissatisfaction, and HE's response - the 'civic' and 'impact' agendas. But what will happen if the VC leaves, the public mood shifts, or the government's priorities change? This again prompts the question - what is valued in HE (and specifically PU and BU), as well as highlighting the precarity of both CUPs in absence of long-term core funding or other embedded structures and priorities similar to those for research and teaching.

The similarities and differences experienced by the participants, as well as the impacts of the various enabling and hindering structures and cultures on both case studies have brought to the fore several key themes that will be discussed and elaborated upon below.

6.3. Thematic Discussion

6.3.1.   Introduction to section

Organisation of the section

The key themes discussed below overlap and are all inextricably linked, making the untangling process both complex and enlightening in itself. In the following pages, I seek to make a contribution to the CUP and EoC literature by offering an

insight into aspects of CUPs in relation to the three key themes. The themes will be outlined, comparing and contrasting them across the case studies and examining how they relate to the literature and to HE more broadly. Whilst theme one - relationships/care/emotions, and theme two - time, are often woven together, I will focus my analysis and discussion on various salient aspects within each respective theme, followed by how they relate to and are enabled and hindered by HE structures and cultures. Theme two will expand on the temporal aspect of the relational theme and discuss how crucial time and slow scholarship are for CUP-working in general, ie. the practical aspects. The third thematic section will build on the previous two and delve into how HE structures/cultures appear to have been largely incompatible with the CUPs and engaged academics in my case studies, followed by an analysis of what might have contributed to this lack of understanding and valuing of the relational and temporal aspects of CUPs whilst speaking to the key debates in the literature.

Why these themes?

As was highlighted in the literature review, the central role of relationships, care, emotion, emotional labour - what I refer to as the relational - is largely missing from the civic university and engaged scholarship conversation, as well as the general HE literature. The role of the relational aspects and the emotional labour involved in CUPs are also largely missing from the CUP literature. And whilst the Ethic of Care and Slow Scholarship literature does focus on care and emotion in the context of the neoliberal university, it doesn't use this lens to look specifically at CUPs or the lived experiences of engaged academics. My work sits at the intersection of these three gaps in knowledge.

There is considerable research on the temporal regimes in the contemporary neoliberal university, especially in the EoC

and SS literature, which focuses on the connection between these temporal regimes and their impacts. However, as was highlighted in the literature review, there is a lack of research on how engaged academics and CUPs are experiencing and being impacted by HE's temporal regimes. My research privileges the lived experiences and focuses on the largely missing voices of resident and academic participants, thereby addressing this gap by extending the literature.

As was also discussed in the literature review, much has been written on the contemporary neoliberal university structures and cultures and their impacts on the academy, not least, the ever-growing mental health crisis epidemic amongst university academic staff (but not engaged academics) due to high workloads, job insecurity, competition, and the erosion of care, amongst other things (Wood et al. 2020; Mountz et al. 2015; Peake and Mullings 2016. There is also significant literature on the role and value of relationships, care, and emotions in the academy and how care is often devalued in HE (Davidson et al. 2014), but again, this too is not focused on their role within CUPs. These highlighted gaps in the literature were reflected on the ground in the case study institutions, albeit at differing levels, in what appeared to be a lack of understanding and valuing of the essential ingredients in CUPs - the relational and time.

6.3.2. Theme 1 - relationships, care, and emotions

As discussed above, a key theme that emerged from my analysis of the case studies was how central relationships, care, and emotions were in their practice and the way this appeared to be the foundation for the positive experiences and outcomes experienced by the CUP participants. This section builds on and contributes to work in the field of CUPs and care ethics. As highlighted in the literature review, although a number of studies highlight the importance of relationships and trust in CUPs (e.g. London et al. 2011; Banks et al. 2013; Harkavy 2006) there has been less of a focus on the role that

care, emotions, and emotional labour play in them. Applying a feminist ethics of care lens and drawing especially from CUP, EoC, and SS literature I will examine what the relational aspects looked like across the case studies, followed by the outcomes and impacts that taking this kind of approach led to. I will then examine the challenges experienced and associated with caring, emotionally connected approaches in the context of the neoliberal university.

A relational practice - what this looked like/involved

Askins and Blazek (2016) state that "making emotions visible in process and relations is a key component of a radical care ethics" (p. 19). Reflecting on my time in Hills and Rivers and the relational aspects of each case study, I am struck by the strength of the relationships, especially those within the TP staff team and between the CRs and Liz, and how visible this care was.

A strong illustration of what this practice looked like can be found in how the TP staff team worked together - for example, how they shared tasks and communicated, how they approached challenges, and how they encouraged and complemented each other's work in front of others. Their collaborative and open mindset also seemed to contribute to the way they showed a real appreciation for each other's differing strengths and skill-sets - something akin to the slow scholarship advocated by Mountz et al. (2015), but counter to the contemporary university's emphasis on "individualism and competition over exchange" as highlighted by Wood et al. (2020, p. 429).

"I really appreciate and enjoyed that social aspect of being alongside people who live in the area and also have some kind of commitment to it and ideas and energy to give. It's a wonderful generosity which feels good to be around and be part of"

-CS1 resident participant

The SPARs project in BU differs in that there isn't a 'staff team' (i.e. university staff dedicated to the project with contracts), however, as was highlighted in the CS2 chapter, there is a 'project team' which includes Liz, Jack (A, P), the

community researchers (CRs), and Lesley (Jack and the CRs are not contracted staff in the same way as the TP team). In my research, which focused mainly on the core of this group - Liz and three of the most active CRs, I found an extraordinarily close, committed, and emotionally connected group of women that made clear their mutual respect for one another. CS2 has many examples of the genuine affection visible between Liz and the CRs, including how they are in regular contact over text and email and know about the different things going on in each other's lives. The nature of the relationship between Liz and the CRs goes against the separation and distance between researcher and research participants preferred in many kinds of research (Heynen 2006). This will be explored further in the coming sections.

Another example of the caring way in which the wider SPARs team worked together was how they approached developing an interview schedule. As discussed in 5.2.4., this involved the team getting together and going through a previous draft, talking through each question and saying what worked and what didn't. Jack and Liz appeared to be aware of the perceived and real power imbalances within the group, making a point to not chair the meeting - aligning with Hart et al.'s 2013 article that found that power and authority were "often seen to reside more in academics than community partners" (p. 278). Reflecting the approach taken by the SPARs project, Banks et al. (2013) found that higher levels of coproduction, and therefore power-sharing, throughout the CUP process, contributed to the participants, especially resident participants, feeling more like equals - something this example of the CRs feeling confident enough to give constructive criticism illustrates.

"there was something about when you meet in each other's houses. What I liked actually, was it felt like we were getting to know each other and being with people who we might not otherwise meet"

-CS1 resident participant

The relationships within both project teams involved a continual back and forth between the giving and receiving of care and support, forming something akin to "networks of reciprocity" (Askins and Blazek 2016, p. 1097) and illustrating their

interdependence - a key aspect of care ethics (Held 2006; Askins and Blazek 2016; Bartos 2019). This multi-directional exchanging of care suggests high levels of trust and the sharing of power between resident and academic participants - a dynamic that differs from the typical 'researcher'/'participant', student/resident, or teacher/student relationship found in more traditional research and teaching. Whilst neither of the case study CUPs had perfectly 'equal' relationships - and I'm not sure this is ever possible - there was both an explicit and perhaps implicit aim of sharing power, valuing each other's knowledge and experiences, and supporting one another. Obviously, this was not equally true between all of the participants - but in the interactions I observed (for example in meetings between the academic and resident participants) and for the participants who were most active, this was largely the case. Something that may have supported these networks of reciprocity and the breaking down of more traditional boundaries between participants was the role of informality. Participants across both case studies, especially resident participants, highlighted how informal interactions in informal spaces helped them to get to know each other as people, making the development of relationships and working together easier.

More widely, TP's care, passion, and commitment to working with the Milton community was often mentioned in my interviews and conversations with resident participants. As explained in CS1 section 4.2.1., TP spent their first year just focused on building relationships through a series of relaxed and informal events involving "conversations that raised ideas" (Sinead). Echoing Wood et al. (2020), Sinead found that having an emotional connection to the project helped garner support. She realised that when people in positions of power were sceptical about the project, she found that bringing them down to the Pavilion helped them to better understand what the project was about. Once they made an emotional connection to it, they often WANTED to help solve the issue. In this example, having a direct connection to the

"we didn't do sign-in sheets, we didn't find out who had come, we didn't have any questions or anything, we just had conversations"

-Sinead, CS1 academic lead

project was important because it allowed the individual to see, hear, smell, and feel the place as well as see how the space impacted the users. Sinead explained that, "it's like tapping into their emotional connections, it's getting people excited about what's going on and it's not something that's abstract. And it's a really simple thing in the end you know, it's 'how can we work with our local community'".

Based on my analysis I argue that both case study CUPs are striving for what Wood et al. (2020) call 'meaningful engagement' - whereby academics (and institutions) need to contribute not only to academic scholarship and theory, but also "to the lived experiences of the individuals and communities among whom we live" (p. 436). This is especially true for CS2 which focuses expressly on interrogating and addressing the issues and challenges currently facing the Sparrow researchers and the Sparrow community. However, whilst 'meaningful engagement' and aims like mutual benefit and reciprocity (see for example Northmore and Hart 2011; Fitzgerald et al. 2012) are discussed in the literature, the focus on the corresponding and essential relational aspects as highlighted in this research do not appear to be a main focus in the CUP literature. This gap in the literature will be explored further in the third theme.

Outcomes & impacts (including benefits) from following a caring and relational practice/approach

As discussed in the case study chapters, my analysis suggests that taking a caring and relational approach formed the foundation for the positive and transformational experiences had by both resident and university participants. The impacts on the participants themselves included personal benefits such as increased confidence, expanded horizons, gaining a sense of empowerment from seeing change happen as a result of their work, and learning new skills for the residents and student participants - echoing Quillinan et al. (2018), one of the few studies that has focused on the

Being part of TP motivated project manager Bethan to take action in her own neighbourhood saying,

"yeah, the project has impacted on me personally and my community as well!"

experiences of resident participants. Echoing Mountz et al. (2020), the university staff cited personal benefits including learning a lot from residents and team, improved teaching practice, a change in how they approached working with communities, and being able to do meaningful work that aligned with their epistemology and values. Both resident and university participants talked about feeling appreciated, valued, and heard - especially the CRs in CS2 - as well as having gained a sense of purpose and fulfilment as a result of their involvement.

In addition to the personal benefits, participants also highlighted how the trust, emotional connections and the eventual relationships and friendships that formed helped them to feel more connected not only to each other within each of the CS teams, but also to the university and to their communities. Basam's (RP) quote in the margin brilliantly illustrates the link between the relational and connection and it was the people who were involved and not 'the university' as a whole who made the difference. As was highlighted in the literature review, the current CUP literature has tended to focus on the impact to the host organisations (especially when students are involved) as opposed to the experiences of individual CUP resident participants (Edwards et al. 2001; Blouin and Perry 2009) - thereby highlighting the importance and value of this research and its specific focus on the lived experiences of resident participants.

"I feel the university is like my friend now. It's mainly because of the relationships it's built. You know, it's not actually the university, it's the individuals involved who have made the difference"

-Basam, CS1 resident participant

The relational approach taken in both case studies also had some practical outcomes including helping to build trust and relationships with the wider academic and Milton and Sparrow communities. As explained in CS1 section 4.4.2.3., having an emotional connection to the projects helped with recruiting both residents and academic participants - reflecting the link between emotion, relationships, and place as discussed by Bondi (2005), as well as Davidson and Milligan (2004). For Liz, it was having a social connection to someone in the project that had the biggest impact on residents getting involved

in SPARs, chiming with Wood et al.'s (2020) point that emotions help to sustain commitments, as well as motivate reciprocity.

Challenges involved in taking a relational approach

As highlighted in the case study chapters, both CUPs required considerable effort and energy in terms of managing the many relationships between the various stakeholders - including helping to develop, grow, and sustain them. CS1 had three TP staff members to share this work whilst the responsibility lay mainly with one person in CS2, adding to her already large workload. Two other distinguishing features related to the relational aspects in CS2 included the difficult life circumstances experienced by many of the CRs (echoing Wood et al. 2020) and its impact on their ability to participate in SPARs, as well as the interpersonal strife happening within the project itself - a challenge that was very apparent from the perspective of my interactions with Liz, but much less obvious from my conversations with the CRs. Seeing these challenges through an EoC lens helped to bring to the fore the blurred boundaries involved and how people's lives are intertwined in their work within these CUPs (especially in CS2). It also helped to highlight where the care and emotional labour was happening in both case studies as well as by whom.

Blurred boundaries

Mountz et al. (2015) suggest that academics "not shy away from talking about life and how intertwined life and work are" (p. 1251) - something that Liz perhaps did more than Sinead. I think the relatively small number of people involved in SPARs, coupled with it being resident (as opposed to teaching) led, enabled a close working relationship and eventual friendships between Liz and the CRs. This also chimes with Wood et al. (2020) who argue for the importance of "opening

ourselves up and sharing our vulnerabilities in our classrooms and research sites to build situated solidarities, and re-examining the neoliberal institutions we inhabit'' (p. 432). Heynen adds that radical scholars need to "understand and internalise the pain of others" (2006 p. 925), arguing for a deep emotional commitment that challenges academia's traditional values of staying distant and separate from one's research participants. This speaks to my finding on the blurred and at times non-existent boundary between the 'professional' and 'personal' lives of the academics and professional CUP staff - and the resident participants - in both case studies. It also helps to shed light on how like in CS2, these deep connections and the empathy involved in working with people surviving on the margins, together with feelings of responsibility, can have a big emotional toll on the engaged academic and other CUP staff involved. Interestingly, the blurring between 'professional' and 'personal' lives for the engaged academic is not a focus in the CUP literature, or the civic conversation.

Emotional labour and where care was happening and by whom

Critics could say that Heynen's (2006) argument that academics need to internalise the emotions of participants could be seen as another form of emotional labour required of already overworked academics (Wood et al. 2020). However, Hoschild (2003) argues that it is valuing this emotional labour itself that has the potential to transform the academy into a caring and liveable space. My research not only illustrates how care and emotions are central to the relationships between the resident and the university participants; it also challenges the normative view that 'caring duties' are only part of the personal, and not professional spheres - something that is reflected in the SS and EoC literature. For example, Mountz et al. (2015) argue that caring needs to stop happening only in private spaces or private times because this caring and responding to the needs of others keeps us both relevant and human "in ways that no metric can measure" (p. 1247).

Indeed, the messy and blurred 'boundaries' within both case studies (but especially CS2) highlight how care is also taking place whenever, and wherever needed including during 'work time' and in 'work spaces' instead of in the expected private spaces as per the neoliberal norm (Lawson 2007).

Wood et al. (2020) reflect on a situation similar to what Liz experienced - what it was like for them to work with university students experiencing very complex and difficult personal situations stating, "we have found ourselves struggling with both guilt and responsibility and questioning our ability as researchers, teachers and writers to have meaningful impacts on their lives" (p. 431). However, there is minimal literature echoing this, as well as a lack of literature focusing on the other challenges highlighted in this research around managing relationships and interpersonal politics and strife within CUPs. This gap in the literature combined with my findings suggests that more research needs to focus on these aspects as well as the CUP participants' experiences and voices, especially that of the individual residents and engaged academics involved.

My research illustrates how CUPs have the potential to transform and enhance the lives of residents, students, and the academics involved, not to mention contributing to positive change in local communities as well as increasing the reputational 'civic standing' of the university, department, or individuals involved. My research also suggests that caring relationships and emotional connections appear to be essential to the participants' positive experiences as well as why the projects have been largely successful. This kind of work requires strong relationship management as well as needing to support individuals who may be experiencing difficult life circumstances - all of which constitute a significant amount of emotional labour and time. Neither of these points appears to fit comfortably with HE culture or structures, nor did they

appear to be well understood, acknowledged, or valued by the case study institutions. I argue that relationships, care, and emotions are central to CUPs in their practice and how they are experienced, but that this is largely missing from the CUP and EoC literature. Whilst Ahmed (2014) and other voices from EoC and SS (for example Berg et al. 2016; Gill 2009; Mountz et al. 2015) have pointed out that the individual-level impacts of the contemporary neoliberal university, both embodied and emotional - have tended to be overlooked or not deemed as sufficiently significant, they have not focused on how engaged academics or CUPs are being impacted and experienced. And whilst the CUP literature obviously looks at the practice and impacts of these partnerships, they largely don't focus on the relational aspects of CUPs and the corresponding emotional labour involved. My research speaks to these gaps and extends both sets of literature by highlighting and privileging the largely missing voices of the resident and engaged academic participants in CUPs.

6.3.3. Theme 2 - time

In this section I build on the thematic discussion above and examine time and the relational, as well as time and the practical aspects of partnership working, drawing especially on the slow scholarship literature and reflecting on what my research adds to the literature in terms of HE's temporal culture and its intersection with CUPs and how they are experienced.

Time and the relational

As was discussed above and in both case study chapters, the relational aspects in TP and SPARs were complex and multifaceted, enabling some of the strongest positive experiences, as well as presenting some significant challenges, especially for engaged academics working in less supportive institutions or departments. Much of the challenge appears

to have come from a disconnect between the time needed for the different parts of CUP-working, including the relational aspects, and the time one has available. The engaged academics in this study spoke about the challenge of often not being given enough time in their work allocations or in funding applications for various aspects of their CUP-working - most crucially, the relational aspects. Wood et al. (2020) argue that the commitment to radical scholarship requires "time spent investing in getting to know students and research participants beyond the narrow scope of learning objectives and research questions" (p. 437) - something that is often in opposition to work allocation models.

The devaluing of care in the academic context (Lawson 2007) as discussed in the above section, together with the pervasive lack of understanding or valuing of the role of emotions, care, and relationships within CUPs at the university leadership level appear to have contributed to the challenges (including how and what time is allocated for) experienced by the engaged academics in this research.

Reflecting the Puawai Collective's (2019) finding that taking the time to be and learn together helped to build trust (p. 39), CS1 offers a slightly different picture to the above in how they were given one year to 'test the waters' and begin to develop trust and relationships with Milton in order to see if there was sufficient interest from the community for some kind of partnership with PU. However, as was highlighted in section 4.5.3., there appeared to be continued ambiguity in terms of how time was allocated for engaged academics for things like developing and sustaining of relationships with partners, especially in the early phases of a project when it hasn't yet been incorporated into one's teaching (as was the case for Lowri - a CS1 engaged academic). This reminds us that even in an institution with a resourced civic strategy, the picture remains complex and murky.

As discussed above and in section 5.4.1.2., in contrast to CS1, Liz has had to support nearly all of the SPARs participants through difficult personal circumstances at one time or another. In addition to the obvious impacts on the individual, it became clear that supporting them also represented a significant amount of emotional labour and time for Liz. CS2 highlights another distinctive aspect of the SPARs project - the internal strife within the team and Liz having to manage these tensions (see section 5.4.2.2.) - a task that appeared to be delicate and time-intensive. CUPs and engaged academics taking an EoC (or social justice, or similar) approach will likely be working with people 'on the margins' and in communities experiencing various challenges and injustices, meaning that some people will have different needs and at times, complex and very difficult lives (Wood et al. 2020) - all of which, according to my findings, requires a lot of consideration, support, and crucially, time. Nevertheless, there appears to be minimal coverage of these challenges, let alone the amount of time they require in the CUP and EoC literature, highlighting once again the missing voices of resident and academic CUP participants with this lived experience. This suggests that these crucial, time-intensive aspects are not acknowledged or valued (at least to the same degree as other aspects) in the academy and that potentially, this is contributing to the lack of support for meaningful engagement and these aspects involved in doing and sustaining this kind of work.

Self-care

As has been presented in the Case Study chapters as well as the first half of this chapter, working in and with communities requires significant emotional labour and time - all of which suggest the importance of having the time to be able to care for one's own wellbeing. Another important aspect of the relational and time theme, therefore, is self-care. Much of feminist care ethics draws from Lorde (1988) and Ahmed (2014) who viewed self-care as warfare. Mountz et al. (2015)

argue that caring for ourselves as well as others within institutions that devalue practices of care is a political act in itself. Adding to this, Wood et al. (2020) argue that "since care is inherently relational, our ability to care for others is limited if we don't also care for ourselves" (p. 439) - explaining that many academics work in 'silos of isolation' and lack the time and energy to develop networks of support which then make it difficult to also create or nurture 'spaces of care'. Whilst self-care is an important aspect in the EoC and SS literature, there is much less of a focus on this in the CUP literature, thereby highlighting a gap in the literature as well as being another example in line with the overall lack of focus on the care, emotional, and emotional labour aspects in the CUP literature.

"I don't do exercise classes anymore, I don't see my friends, I don't...it's just ridiculous"

-Liz, CS2 academic lead

Much of the Slow Scholarship literature highlights the link between neoliberal institutional processes that drive competition and individualism, among other things, and the resulting mental health crisis in HE (e.g. Mountz et al. 2015; Mullings et al. 2016; Peake and Mullings 2016), however, as I have pointed out, they do not apply this lens specifically to CUPs and engaged academics. Mountz et al. (2015) suggest strategies for resisting the neoliberal university compressed temporal regimes by slowing down and working with others in caring ways as well as caring for ourselves. However, my research highlights how this might not be possible for some engaged academics like Liz who does work with care, but much of this caring is done on her own time and at the expense of her own health and wellbeing. So whilst she wants and needs to 'slow down' and prioritise self-care, if she does, this would most likely impact her community-based work - something that doesn't fit within her own ethics. This highlights a limitation in the strategies put forward in some of the literature as a result of not applying it to the context of CUPs. The lack of time for self-care could have a significant impact on engaged academics already struggling under the pressure of neoliberal university work cultures and is something that I argue, should be prioritised in the CUP literature and reflected in institutional structures.

Time and the practical

My research also highlighted how essential time was for the practical aspects of CUPs and CUP working. For resident participants across both case studies, finding the time to participate regularly and to a sufficient level (in their view) was difficult and sometimes not possible due to a myriad of factors and competing responsibilities resulting in feelings of guilt for some (see p. 167 for an example). In both case studies (but more acutely in CS2) we also saw how much of a challenge having sufficient time to train, support, and work with resident participants, students, and other academics was for the project leads. These challenges speak to debates around power and whose time 'counts' - for example, who is/n't paid in CUPs, as well as what activities are seen as 'valuable' enough to be included in one's work allocation.

Liz (CS2) highlighted another key practical aspect when she explained that, "it [community-based participatory research] takes so much time and effort". Indeed, Sinead in CS1 spoke often of the experimental, organic, and slow nature of the projects involving her architecture students and their community partners (see quotes to the right) and how this had been both positive - in terms of her teaching practice and the outcomes of the projects, as well as being a challenge in terms of not fitting easily within the more typical and expected timelines in HE. Sinead's and TP's willingness to experiment with project ideas that may not lead to 'success' points to their willingness to learn from 'failure' (in the eyes of university metrics) - something that speaks to debates in HE around 'success' and 'failure' (Morley 2005; Vasquez Jacobus et al. 2011). Both case studies highlight how working in collaborative and organic ways in both research and teaching is time-intensive and unpredictable - echoing the PAR and CUP literature.

"you try things out, and if they don't work, you try again but in a different way"

-Sinead, CS1 academic lead

"you could have a 2-year conversation that leads to 'nothing', so how do you evidence that?"

-Sinead, CS1 academic lead

Another important practical temporal aspect of CUPs is the time needed for impacts to emerge from engaged SS and the associated challenges around capturing and evaluating these often harder to quantify impacts (see quote to the right from Liz). The quote also highlights how short-termism is valued by HEIs and that this is often incompatible with CUPs due to their long-term nature. This research illustrates how CUPs can be hugely transformational for those involved - as was evident in CS2 in the CR's impact stories that highlighted their increased confidence and expanded horizons - impacts that emerged over time. This sits in tension with the 'hit and run' style research fueled by neoliberal university structures (Wood et al. 2020) - something that will be discussed in more depth in the following theme.

So what

Time runs through all of my research in how it is both essential, and always in short supply. My research highlights how intertwined and essential time is for the relational aspects, as well as the practical aspects of CUPs and CUP working, and yet this is not reflected in the majority of the EoC or SS literature which does not focus on engaged academics or CUPs. On the ground, my research also suggests that there is a lack of understanding, acknowledgement, and valuing of the time needed in the context of CUPs, and that this resulted in the engaged academics in the case studies often not being given sufficient time for the above in work allocations and funding bids. HE structures related to temporal regimes will be discussed further in the next thematic section.

Slow scholarship proponents have called for a slowing down - taking the time to think, write, reflect, research, collaborate, listen, engage, experiment, inspire, etc. - as a way of not only caring for ourselves and others but also as an alternative to and a way of resisting and undermining neoliberal regimes (Mountz et al. 2015). I agree with Martell's (2014) view that

"a lot of this [CUP work] is longer-term, so it's quite hard…universities and organisations want short-term measurements, whereas actually…we might see some impact in 10 years"

-Liz, CS2 academic lead

slow scholarship is about more than just time - it's also about structures of power and inequality and is therefore not only about the individual, but the collective, and HE as a whole. A strategy for resisting neoliberal temporal regimes that kept coming up in the SS literature was the privileging of collective action underlined by an EoC (Puawai Collective 2019; Evans 2016; Lawson 2007; Mountz et al. 2015; Peake and Mullings 2016). But what if you don't have access to this collective either because it isn't there, or as was the case for Liz, because those who feel the same way have no time to meet, support one another, or challenge their institution? This suggested strategy also neglects to include collaborations outside of academic circles, thereby highlighting a limitation.

Wood et al. (2020) argue that time is essential for meaningful change to happen stating, "we need time: to reflect, to read, to learn, to write, to volunteer, to hang out, to do service work, to heal, and to channel experiences into avenues and relationships that are transformative and that expand the capacity of our work to create meaningful change" (p. 432) - much of which can be applied to CUP working and engaged academics. However, as is argued in much of the literature on the neoliberal university, there is a disconnect between the time needed and the time given for research, teaching, and wellbeing. This research extends this understanding and argues that engaged academics need even more time for CUPs and their time-intensive aspects. One of the key findings from this research is the tension between what is valued and seen as 'time-worthy' by higher education institutions and funders, and how in reality this is often incompatible with CUPs and their needs. This challenges some of the civic university rhetoric and literature that often portrays a landscape where what is valued by HEIs is compatible with CUPs.

6.3.4. Theme 3 - HE cultures and structures

Themes one and two analysed the roles that the relational and temporal aspects played in the case studies, arguing that both were essential to the CUPs and their participants, and that these key aspects were not well understood or valued by BU, and to a lesser degree, PU. The thematic discussion sections also highlighted that this argument, as well as the voices of those with lived experiences of these CUPs, are largely missing from the CUP, EoC, and SS literature. This last thematic section will build on and contribute to these gaps by discussing HE cultures and structures as they were experienced through the everyday practices of the CUP participants, arguing that they (HE cultures and structures) appear to be largely incompatible with CUPs and their participants (especially the academic participants), particularly in how poor they are at recognising the relational and temporal dimensions of CUPs that have too often been overlooked.

HE cultures

One of the strongest examples of the incompatibility of the work culture in the contemporary university with CUP-working was with Liz (A) and the SPARs project. As outlined in CS2 and reflecting much of the SS literature critiquing the neoliberal temporal culture of ever-increasing work-loads within diminishing time scales (Mountz et al. 2015), Liz did not have enough time to do the things included in her WAM, let alone all of the time-intensive relational aspects of her community-based projects that weren't recognised by the institutional structures and therefore not included in her WAM or in funding bids. My research shows that Liz spent a significant amount of time managing relationships with external stakeholders and within the SPARs team itself, as well as supporting participants through difficult personal circumstances, and other time-intensive and essential forms of emotional labour - most of which was done on her 'own time' because it did not fit into her WAM. This reflects some feminist EoC literature that argues against the undervaluing of care and

emotional labour in HE and how they are often seen as being part of the 'personal' and not 'professional' realms (see Davidson et al. 2014; Lynch 2010). It is surprising, however, that this significant challenge is not represented more prominently in the CUP literature.

As has been argued throughout, this research suggests that there is a lack of understanding, time, and support for the care and emotional labour involved in supporting CUPs and their participants, and the blurred boundaries between the 'professional' and the 'personal', highlighting how at odds these aspects of CUP-working are with current HE culture. This example speaks to what some have called the 'care-less' academy (Wood et al. 2020; Mountz et al. 2015), whilst also highlighting some of the ways in which HE structures and cultures can and are hindering engaged academics (and by extension the CUPs they are involved in), thereby extending the CUP and EoC literature.

Whilst both case studies include a long-term CUP anchored in a local ward, CS2 highlights how the competition and audit cultures of the neoliberal university that have led to a focus on the 'global', have influenced perceptions of work at the local level. The quote below illustrates this point and reflects Watson (2007) and Scott's (2006) argument that prioritising the 'global' would present a challenge for activities at the local level -

> He [a Dean at BU] goes, 'problem is, you're just doing local stuff aren't you?'. And that was his thing (frustrated laughing)! He goes, 'you're the only member of prosperity and resilience [REF submission group] that's ever won an impact award in the uni', and then he went, 'ya *but you're just doing local stuff, can't you make it global, can't you just go to Africa or something?*'(A)

In addition to the undervaluing of care present in the academy, this excerpt highlights an additional challenge for CUPs and engaged academics - the culture of prioritising global over local.

'problem is, you're just doing local stuff aren't you... can't you make it global, can't you just go to Africa or something?"

-what a Dean told Liz (CS2)

'Success' & 'failure'

How success and failure are conceptualised in the academy is important to this research. But success for whom and on what terms? 'Success' in HE is closely linked to Ohman's (2012) argument that metric-based accounting regimes are part of the neoliberalisation of the Western university and that they represent a shift from "content to counting" (p. 28) - something that is very visible in the current 'publish or perish' culture. But it's not just about numbers - the form of what 'counts' as 'success' has also been impacted. Hartman and Darab (2012) state that with the guiding principles of the corporatised university including things like productivity, efficiency, and 'excellence', academics are asked to report marketable outputs of a *quantifiable* nature (Nussbaum 2010) - thereby, I would argue, discouraging the slow, more creative or alternative forms of outputs and outcomes more typical of CUPs. Slow Scholarship takes a critical view of the counting, metrics-based culture and asks us to question what we value, and to consider 'slowness' as positive, valuable, and potentially "essential to good scholarship" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1244).

To illustrate this point, participants in both case studies benefited from relational impacts (for example increased confidence, new friendships and connections, learning about different world views as a result of these interactions, etc.) - impacts that are often slow to develop and surface, and therefore hard to evidence meaning that often they are not 'counted' (Evans 2016). Yet these impacts have the potential to lead to great personal transformation, as was the case in this research. Reflecting some of the literature critical of the audit culture and its narrow metrics (for example Giroux 2002; Mountz et al. 2015), another shared frustration and challenge in both case studies was that their institutional frameworks did not recognise or 'count' their outputs for the REF (or for promotion in CS2) as they were not in journal

form, even though they had been useful for their external partners, policymakers, and the wider community. It is against these cultures in HE that one can see how difficult 'proving' to university leaders and other academics that CUPs have value and impact and that they are not simply an 'add-on' - a challenge reflected in Davies (2016) and something highlighted by Sinead (A) in CS1 as being her biggest challenge - especially when the CUP's outcomes and outputs don't fit within HE's short-term and narrow accounting measures for 'success'.

Ohman (2012) rightly questions whether this need to quantify all outputs actually changes the nature of those outputs. Pain et al. (2015) argues there can be a risk in producing research for audit purposes in that it can actually damage the process and outcome of research that makes a difference, meaning that these regimes can not only change the nature of the outputs but also the trajectory of a research project or CUP in order to include activities/outputs that are easily quantifiable and exclude those that aren't. Echoing Pain's point, in conversations with Sinead, she sometimes hinted at needing to make slight changes in their projects in order to 'fit' or be more easily counted.

Metrics-based auditing regimes also influence how experimentation and participatory methods are viewed. Park et al. (2017) ask, "how can we build an academy that validates, supports, encourages, and rewards thinking out-of-the-box? How can we encourage scholarship that dares greatly, and in doing so dares also to fail?" (p. 275). But experimentation can lead to 'failure', right? But failure to whom and in what way? Sinead (A) stated, "you could have a 2-year conversation that leads to nothing, so how do you evidence that?" (section 4.5.3.). In this quote, Sinead is referring to 'nothing' in terms of not having led to a project or event that would 'count' using the measures TP employ. These measures are in response to their funders and university systems and are how they justify their project. It is also referring to the difficulty

"where do you find the bit on the edges or at the actual heart of it... where the emotional perceptions and the relationships and conversations are?"

(referring to wanting to engage in the more difficult conversations instead of skating passed them or focussing on the 'lighter' topics)

-Delilah, CS1 resident participant

an academic might face when trying to justify having spent two years developing a relationship that didn't lead to a project during her performance review (another concept borrowed from the business world). This culture of success and failure and its corresponding auditing structures also have an impact on whether and how a CUP can reflect on 'failure' and difficult topics or challenges when there is so much pressure to produce outputs and 'excellence' within the specific 'success' framework. This was highlighted in both case studies in the comments of several resident participants (see quote from Delilah to the right for one example) who felt that at times, there appeared to be an aversion to the 'deeper work' and to discussing challenging topics or disagreements.

Co-produced projects are inherently more unpredictable and time-intensive when done in a 'very' participatory way (meaning throughout the process - not just one part of a project), they develop through discussions and idea-sharing from multiple people. As was illustrated and advocated for in both case studies, working in this way requires and benefits from a long-term, flexible and open approach. However, this also links to risk and what counts as 'value for money'. Time in the neoliberal university is very much tied to market principles including 'value for money' (Giroux 2002), as well as a particular understanding of 'success' (see for example Berg et al. 2016; Morley 2005; Wood et al. 2020). As Sinead's (A) quote illustrates above, some relationships and projects won't lead to outputs or outcomes that are recognised or valued by HE. This does not mean that there is no value in this 'non-outcome', but it does highlight what institutions do and don't value, as well as the tension between more experimental co-produced projects/partnerships whose outcomes may be long in coming and harder to measure (Wright et al. 2011; Vasquez Jacobus et al. 2011), and the demands from funders and HEIs seeking outcomes in order to be able to justify their investment and involvement. This emphasises how crucial, and also how challenging demonstrating the value of CUPs to the academy is.

Case Study 1 provides an example of an institution that took risks as well as avoided them. For example, Sinead (A) explained that the VC and other decision-makers took a risk in terms of choosing TP as one of their flagship projects "because unlike the other flagship projects that were already established, TP was seen as high-risk because they were "starting from nothing", but according to Sinead: "there was just this sort of willingness to take that risk, which I think was really key. And low expectations [...] of what might come out of it". However, Sinead also said that at the same time, she was the only academic left working on the project out of the original group who had been part of the leadership programme. The others had been told not to carry on as it would negatively impact their research careers because engagement was seen as an add-on (in 2013) - "they were told very specifically by line managers who are Heads of Schools that this wasn't...I think they saw it as engagement and as work in addition to a workload" (A). This speaks to the ambiguous position in which CUPs and engaged scholarship sit within HE frameworks as highlighted in the literature review (see section 2.4.5.), as well as the challenge of prevailing attitudes toward engagement as an 'add on' (Fitzgerald et al. 2012). It also suggests a potential disconnect in perceptions of risk and value between the different levels of academic staff whereby for example, something might be considered a good idea worthy of risk by a senior leader, whilst a departmental manager could agree with this in principle but deem it as too risky in practice. Structures related to the risk-averse culture in the academy are discussed below.

HE structures

The literature review highlighted various practices and features that have contributed to the academy's perceptions of value and risk (including what 'counts' and time) - for example short-termism, global competition and rankings (Brink

2018), and conceptualisations of 'success' and 'failure' (Morley 2005) - which all appear to have impacted many HE structures including funding, who is paid for what, and promotions.

Funding processes and challenges regarding insufficient resourcing are clearly highlighted in this research - especially in CS2 which does not have the same level of institutional commitment as in CS1. One of the biggest and most time-consuming and stressful aspects of Liz's (A) work is having to continuously be looking for funding, writing applications, and then managing multiple funding streams. Whilst CS1 represents a university with an institution-wide civic strategy that has clearly benefited TP, Sinead (A) was nevertheless still concerned about the long-term prospects of TP following the initial 5-year civic flagship programme. Chile and Black (2015) argue that in the current corporate-inspired audit culture, CUPs now have to provide business cases when seeking funding - something that was also highlighted by Sinead in CS1. This reflects the literature discussed on how CUPs often struggle to garner long-term support and resourcing from their department or wider institution because of how 'value' is perceived - usually, it is related to income-generation or return possibilities, as well as 'success', which I would argue, is too narrowly defined and often based on easily quantifiable 'light-touch' engagement or outputs (Nussbaum 2010).

"a lot of this [CUP work] is longer-term, so it's quite hard…universities and organisations want short-term measurements, whereas actually…we might see some impact in 10 years"

-Liz, CS2 lead academic

TP and SPARs represent a particular kind of CUP: they are long-term participatory partnerships instead of projects, with no fixed end-point and no pre-identified outputs or outcomes - aspects that really challenge current university structures based on a corporate business model with short-term outcomes and expectations (Morrish 2019). The quote to the right from Liz speaks to this situation and also highlights how short-termism and the current metrics for 'success' and 'impact' are incompatible with long-term CUPs and long-term impacts.

Another hindering structure strongly highlighted in CS2 was the payment system in BU: University systems are not set up for paying non-contracted staff in a timely and simple manner. CS1 also highlighted how university procurement systems made employing small local businesses and organisations very difficult. These challenges represented significant time and emotional labour on the part of the engaged academics as well as for the resident participants having to navigate these often inaccessible and complex systems. Whilst these barriers were significant, there appears to be less written about more detailed practical challenges such as these.

Career prospects and promotion criteria differed between the case studies - engaged academic Lowri (CS1) was able to be promoted based on 'excellence in engagement', whereas Liz (CS2) was unsuccessful in her promotion application BECAUSE of her engagement work and its co-produced reports that did not fit within BU's narrow conceptualisation of what 'counts', i.e. journal papers. This reflects Park et al.'s (2017) view that definitions of productivity in the academy are narrow, as well as Wood et al.'s (2020) argument that following a radical care ethics in one's research and teaching is often incompatible with one's career development. The example of CS2 also speaks to debates on knowledge production and how it has become a commodity instead of being part of a collective endeavour (Jary and Parker 1998; Levidow 2001), a point that Askins and Blazek (2016) reinforce in their argument that "only economic and individual/ised aspects are valued formally", and that in promotion structures and "institutional recognition and reward systems: what counts is who is named on grants and publications" (p. 1101).

Another hindering structure highlighted by this research was needing to use the 'right language' (ie. academic language) in

structures like ethics applications. Sinead (A) talked about how this had created a barrier for her stating,

> I remember taking an ethics approval form to an Ethics Committee [...] chaired by a psychologist [who] rejected it because we hadn't said what our methodology was. And we sort of said 'well we're just going to chat to people and find out what they think', and he's like 'that's not a methodology' [...] it was very academic and off-putting and not willing to consider possibilities. And then I spoke to someone who said, 'oh that's grounded theory'. I'm like 'OK'. And I went back and said, 'it's grounded theory' and he said 'fine'. And there was just this sort of silliness about it

Davies et al. (2019) also speak of having to translate their collaborative research work using the "normative language of knowledge exchange" (p. 217) so that their work could be understood by the university, but that this language was unhelpful because it positions academics as experts, thereby maintaining the dominant and unhelpful view of who are the accepted knowledge producers. This illustrates another way in which HE structures and cultures can create barriers to CUPs. Sinead's transcript excerpt is an example of how having to use specific language that is accepted and expected in academia appears to be what legitimises and valorises something - not the action itself. It's like having the right packaging. You could have the same thing in two different boxes but only the one with the 'correct' packaging is allowed to be sold to shops. This focus on academic language intersects with what appears to be valued by the academy, ideas around 'success' and 'failure' and what gets projected by universities.

Something that came through strongly in both case studies was this idea of 'projection' - projections at the institutional and project levels. Universities understandably project their impact and engagement work in a certain light in order to demonstrate their institution's commitment and impact in local communities and to illustrate how they are fulfilling their civic missions and agendas. However, there appears to be a disconnect between the current rhetoric projected by the HE sector regarding their commitment to and support for the civic and impact agendas, and the reality of what is happening

on the ground and whether HE structures and cultures are supporting this work and those involved. This disconnect is reflected in the literature - especially in terms of universities often not embedding engaged scholarship into institutional strategies (McEwen and Mason O'Connor 2013), meaning that this kind of work is still seen as an 'add-on' (Fitzgerald et al. 2012). This perception contributed to the recruitment difficulties in CS1 and the challenges Liz (CS2) faced when trying to get more time allocated for her CUP work.

Other examples of the gap between the rhetoric and the reality were evident in both case studies, speaking directly to Banks et al.'s (2016) argument that "there is a contradiction present between the social justice driver of civic engagement and community-based research methods and how HEIs also use this work to capitalise on the impact of these projects" (p. 275). I learned that whilst Pink University projected a strong commitment to their civic strategy, they did not in fact financially support the one project they used in all of their civic strategy marketing materials - "we feature at every single event. So we're actually in the Civic Mission video, even though we're not funded" (CS1 engaged academic). In CS2 Liz (A) talked about how she was given an Engagement Fellowship which was promoted heavily on BU's website, but she received no accompanying resources. Davies' (2016) findings reflect these experiences stating that despite the institutions in the study having strategic missions focused on engagement, the engaged academics felt like they were still "outside the mainstream of their institution" (p. 217) and that they had to continually justify their approaches and work against 'traditional' research - a challenge highlighted in both case studies.

Another form of projection that became clear in this research occurred at the project level. Like universities, CUPs have to project a certain image in order to justify themselves, garner support from their institution, attract participants, and

demonstrate to the local community that they are having a positive impact. This can sometimes look more like a marketing exercise rather than sharing information and successes (echoing my reflections in the story at the start of Case Study 2, 5.1.1.). As has been discussed throughout this chapter and the literature review, accounting measures employed by universities have led to engaged scholarship/CUP activities needing to be quantified in order to show their value within narrow neoliberal conceptualisations of 'success' (Shucsmith et al. 2021), leading to a fear of risk (Bok 2003) and of potential 'failures'. This climate makes learning from mistakes, or focusing on process over output, difficult and pushes CUPs to portray themselves in very specific, often 'incomplete' ways (e.g. TP and their shiny brochures with lots of stats). Whilst it is not surprising that a project/partnership would want to celebrate and highlight the positives, and it is difficult to capture the details and the whole story of complex projects, the pressure of needing to project 'success' as defined by institutional metrics has led to incomplete projections - some of which can have adverse effects including local people not recognising or connecting with a story about 'their' community (see p. 192 in CS1 for an example), leading to the potential for a loss of trust and frustration felt by some local residents.

6.4.   Chapter Conclusion

Framed by each research question, this chapter began with an analysis of the findings across both case studies which was then followed by a discussion of the three key themes - relationships/care/emotions, time, and HE cultures and structures - and how this research reflects, challenges, and extends the current literature. The next and (you'll be pleased to hear) final chapter will: recap the findings of this research and how this makes a contribution to knowledge, offer some recommendations for a more care-full university, and conclude with suggestions for further research and some final thoughts.

7. Chapter 7 - Conclusion

This thesis began with my story of how I came to this research topic, followed by snapshots of the debates and general HE landscape within which this research is set. In my own anecdotal experiences of working in a CUP and attending many workshops and conferences over the last six years about all things 'civic' or 'impact-related', there was always a real enthusiasm and confidence in how much HE has moved in this direction and how much community voices are valued. However, much like the literature, there were rarely resident participants present, let alone speaking at these events. Whilst I understand that this is a complex issue with different potential challenges for having 'normal' people participating in these events, I argue that this reflects a wider trend in HE where the civic and impact and engagement agenda rhetoric is spread with enthusiasm and at times even with accompanying strategies (as in CS1), but the reality on the ground is that participants (residents and engaged academics) are often being spoken for and their perspectives, concerns, and challenges (including insufficient support in real terms for some, high workloads, poor mental health, etc.) are not being included (or even known) in these 'back-slapping' conversations taking place in conferences, workshops, and in the literature. This raises concerns about the danger that realities may be being misrepresented by a sector seeking to sell itself. It's almost as if universities are trying to talk themselves into believing that they really *are* fulfilling their civic agendas. Unfortunately, the voices of those actually participating in, and trying to lead the physical incarnations of this rhetoric are largely absent from the literature, and the room. This research attempts to address this in a small way, by privileging and highlighting the voices of resident and academic CUP participants.

7.1. What does this all mean?! What has this thesis contributed?

Overview

In this thesis, I argue that whilst there has been a marked emphasis in recent HE institutional rhetoric on civic university ideals and an introduction of the impact and engagement agendas, the structures and cultures in the contemporary UK university are for the most part in tension with engaged scholarship, and a barrier to CUPs and engaged academics. My main contributions are directed towards the CUP literature and the civic university agenda, using an EoC and SS lens to draw out under-studied relational and emotional dimensions of community-university partnership work.

My thesis extends the work of EoC and SS into the area of university partnership development by demonstrating that many of its themes are especially relevant to CUPs. In this way, I have sought to bring attention to the emotional and relational aspects of CUPs and their time-intensive nature and how at odds this is with current neoliberal HE structures and cultures. In these contexts, as Wood et al. (2020) have argued, "the capacity to take on radical and caring scholarship, and to do so well, is limited" (p. 430). In fact, my research suggests that current neoliberal university structures and cultures undermine civic missions, impact and engagement activities including CUPS, as well as making an already challenging working environment even more difficult for engaged academics.

RQ 1: How are CUPs experienced by the participants?

The main findings of my research in relation to my first research question, 'How are CUPs experienced by the participants?', indicate that the main benefits cited by both resident and academic participants were the relational and social aspects, the new learning and increased confidence that occurred, and feeling valued and appreciated. Some also

experienced significant life-transformational impacts linked to their CUP participation. My research suggests that CUPs can be transformative and have the potential for positive impacts on the participants as well as the community and university. I argue that the relational dimension of collaboration in these contexts is key to the reported positive experiences.

Both case studies experienced some 'visible' and practical challenges including capacity/lack of time (for both residents and academics), recruiting new resident and academic participants, accessibility, payroll systems, formality, and achieving mutual benefit. One key difference between the case studies was the level of support from each institution and the need for Liz (A - CS2) to continually search for and manage funding - a very time-intensive and stressful activity. Whilst TP represents a CUP with quite high levels of support and more substantial funding, funding was still a complex issue. Some engaged academics at PU experienced a lack of support due to their work not fitting within TP's place-based criteria - highlighting some limitations to TP's approach.

In addition to the visible challenges were the more 'hidden' challenges - some shared between the case studies - for example, the pressure felt by key individuals from all the participant groups, whilst other hidden challenges varied greatly between BU (CS2) and PU (CS1). One distinction between how the case studies were experienced was in their willingness or aversion to doing 'deeper work'. Another distinctive challenge was the interpersonal strife that can happen within a CUP, as well as the difficult life circumstances experienced by some of the participants in CS2, and the emotional labour and time needed to address these challenges. Connected to and most likely a result of a combination of the visible and hidden challenges cited were the negative embodied impacts experienced by Liz (A - CS2).

In contrast to CS2, Sinead (A) did not experience the same challenges, suggesting that; having a staff team helped in many ways, especially in being able to share the emotional labour; having more substantial and sustained resources; and having more time for the project thanks to the funding - all contributed to a more positive experience for Sinead.

RQ 2: How do HE structures and cultures enable and hinder the collective and individual relationships and practices in CUPs?

Enablers

Several key enablers stand out in CS1. The first key enabling structure for TP and those involved was the institutional level support which included sufficient resources and funding, engagement as a promotion criterion, and having more flexible and responsive procurement and pay procedures. At the departmental level, TP academics were able to incorporate working with TP and Milton into their teaching - thereby enabling them to incorporate (some of) this time into their WAMs. Individual disciplines more comfortable with experimentation and departments with specific community-focused aims also benefited the engaged academics and by extension the projects themselves. The SPARs project (CS2) was given bits of funding which allowed the community researchers (CRs) to be paid and the project to carry on. However, as was explained, this funding was inconsistent, insufficient, and from multiple sources leading to a time-intensive management process. At the project level, TP's projects and participants, as well as their reputation both in the university and in Milton, appear to have been greatly enabled by: having a staff team, taking a long-term slow approach, and being flexible in terms of the direction of individual TP projects, as well as having wide-ranging criteria and expectations for outcomes and outputs.

Hinderers

As was discussed above, CS2 gave an example of how HE structures and cultures can hinder CUPs as well as those involved - especially the lead engaged academic, thereby extending the literature. The three hindering structures highlighted were time and WAMs, the REF, and funding (both internal and external). Whilst Sinead (A) in CS1 as well as her fellow PU academics also experienced high workloads and were pressured for time - the institutional, departmental, and project-level structures appear to have lessened the blow of some of the wider challenges found in CS2, especially those hinderers at the sectoral level.

HE's audit and temporal cultures influence how and what is valued and therefore included in WAMs, greatly negatively impacted Liz (A) and by extension the SPARs project. Liz felt that she was not able to properly support the residents and students through their personal and professional needs due to insufficient time allocated for this work. This and other examples in the case study suggest a lack of understanding, acknowledgement, and valuing from BU of: the relational aspects of CUPs and; the essential role they play in CUPs being potentially transformational for those involved; as well as their time-intensive nature. Reflecting the literature, both case studies also pointed to the persisting ambiguous nature of where CUPs sit within HE structures, presenting a challenge in terms of whether and how aspects of CUP-working are included in WAMs.

Closely linked to time and WAMs is the REF. How impact is defined in the REF has influenced what is/n't valued in HEIs, and as was highlighted in CS1, influenced not only what forms of outcomes and outputs 'count' in the REF, it also impacted the promotion and funding criteria as was seen in CS2. The case studies also highlighted how impacts from slow,

engaged scholarship can take time to occur and are harder to capture and evaluate, making it difficult to fit them within the REF's preference for short-term, easily quantifiable projects, outcomes, and outputs (Watermeyer and Hedgecoe 2016).

The last, and interconnected hindering structure was funding. The SPARs project lacked sufficient, stable, sustained funding from BU leading to the many challenges stated above. CS2 also highlighted how the criteria, length of funding, and the often 'traditional' requirements of many external funders were incompatible with slow, participatory-based research. Both case studies also illustrated the precarious position that CUPs and engaged academics are in, even in institutions with a civic strategy like PU.

So what?! What does this tell us?

Utilising an EoC and SS lens, this thesis advances and contributes to work in the fields of engaged scholarship and care ethics by prioritising the voices of those with lived experiences of CUPs, as well as exploring the under-researched relational and temporal aspects of CUPs and how they are impacted by HE cultures and structures. Drawing from critical feminist scholarship I argue that these findings are indicative of the audit and temporal cultures and the devaluing of care in the contemporary university. As such, this research extends the EoC and SS critiques of the contemporary 'care-less' neoliberal academy (Mountz et al. 2015; Wood et al. 2020) by focusing on CUPs and engaged academics.

This research shines a light on the positive and transformational impacts experienced by many of the CUP participants, as well as highlighting the time-intensive pivotal role of relationships, care, and emotions. The relational aspects together

with the challenges associated with these more complex relationships can at times include needing to simultaneously manage internal strife, in addition to supporting participants experiencing hardships - all of this whilst trying to balance ever-increasing workloads. The strong connection and relationship between Liz and the CRs in CS2 illustrates this, as well as how this kind of work can lead to a blurring of the professional/personal boundary associated with more 'traditional' research. Although a number of studies have examined CUPS, there has not been a strong focus on the role and importance of the relational aspects or the blurring of professional/personal boundaries in CUPs and the consequent emotional labour needed and given by those involved - especially the lead academic, within the neoliberal HE context.

Building on the CUP literature, my research suggests that CUPs can be transformative and that they have the potential for positive impacts on the participants as well as the community and university and argue that the relational aspect is key in these positive experiences. My research also illustrates how time is essential for the relational, self-care, and practical aspects of CUPs, and that this remains largely incompatible with the temporal regimes of the neoliberal university. And whilst the SS and EoC literature argues that both time and an ethic of care are essential in the academy, they do not put this in the context of engaged scholarship.

This research highlights how: the impacts of the current audit and temporal cultures; perceptions of 'success', 'failure', what 'counts', and knowledge production; and practical institutional structures - hindered both case studies, thereby challenging the pervasive narrative that the civic and impact agendas are not only a leading priority, they are also enabled (or at least not hindered) by various institutional cultures and structures in HEIs. I argue that current neoliberal audit and temporal cultures together with HE's devaluing of care can lead to negative impacts on CUPS and those involved, including

embodied impacts and a complete work-life imbalance for the engaged academic.

There is a disconnect between the pervasive civic and impact rhetoric coming from institutions and the reality being experienced by some engaged academics and CUPs on the ground. My research suggests that this gap is symptomatic of HE's neoliberal structures and cultures as well as the fact that the participant voice is largely missing from the literature and the conversation. This highlights both the importance of seeking and listening to the voices of those involved on the ground, as well as the significant contribution that this research has made by focusing not on people in leadership positions in the community, LAs, or universities as previous studies have done, but on resident and academic participants involved in projects like TP and SPARs.

This research illustrates what slow, caring engaged scholarship can look like as well as how both case study CUPs are essentially enacting SS, but they are having to do this *against* the framework within which they operate (especially CS2). The 'care-less' audit and temporal cultures appear to have led to 'care-less' structures in HE. For example, the devaluing of care in the academy can be seen in the ways that certain kinds of labour - in this case, relational and emotional labour, are systematically not included, 'counted', or valued in institutional structures like work allocation models (WAMs), audit cultures, and annual performance reviews. The managerial business model now driving HE (Chili and Black 2015) cultures and structures has led to a lack of time and resourcing, narrow measures of 'success', short-termism, pressures on mental health, and promotion structures that often don't value this kind of 'non-traditional' work - disincentivising potential engaged academics, and disproportionately negatively impacting those already doing long-term, participatory, relationship-based work in and with local communities - thereby limiting the impacts and potential of both. This reality is

in tension with the current civic rhetoric in the HE sector and challenges the notion that civic and impact work can flourish (and is flourishing) under existing neoliberal HE structures, suggesting a form of 'civic-washing' (Grant 2022).

Adding to critiques of the neoliberal university, including many feminist scholars, I argue that the academy needs to stop the devaluing and feminisation of care and emotional labour. Care and emotional labour need to be recognised (including their time-intensive aspects) as valuable forms of labour and part of the academy (not just private spaces), as well as an essential part of engaged scholarship and CUPs. My research and experiences suggest that the civic rhetoric and impact and engagement agendas are not enough. In the next section, I make some suggestions for what a more caring university might look like and the HE structures and cultures needed to make this happen.

7.2.   Recommendations…now what?

Universities need to move away from the model of fast scholarship by valuing and investing in long-term relationships with their local communities **and** *supporting the academics and community partners sustaining them*. My research suggests that the guiding principles of care ethics and slow scholarship need to be at the heart of civic strategies, as well as HE in general, in order to; combat destructive neoliberal practices, foster and support truly impactful community-based work as well as those who are involved, and fulfil their civic missions, thereby 'walking the talk'. This supports the vision of change in HE fostered by Mountz et al. (2015) who argue for "remaking the university" and "cultivating caring academic cultures and processes" (p. 1238) in which "experimentation, creativity, different epistemologies, and dissidence are all valued and encouraged" (p. 1254).

I propose bringing together radical care ethics and SS with engaged scholarship to form Radically Caring Engaged Scholarship (RCES). I suggest taking Wood et al.'s (2020) 'tenets of radical care ethics in geography' as a starting point, as well as drawing from PAR values and the works of Mountz et al. (2015); Puawai Collective (2019); Northmore and Hart (2011); Lawson (2009); London et al. (2011), and others.

Breaking down the concept:

Radical (social justice driven) + care ethics (emotions and relationships at heart) + engaged scholarship (meaningfully engaged teaching, research, and engagement) = RCES that not only studies/teaches about inequalities, it seeks to actively change systems of oppression and material circumstances of those surviving on the margins whilst following EoC and SS principles

By applying this concept to my data I put forward what I think RCES would entail (left column) and make recommendations of how I believe HE structures and cultures need to change/be (right column) in order to be able to support RCES and the civic/impact/engagement aims of many contemporary universities in the UK. In keeping with my own ethics and in line with PAR and EoC, what I offer is a starting point, and would be something that needs to be discussed, altered, and added to with the different stakeholders involved in this frame. RCES can be seen as a 'live concept', much like live documents that are continually being updated and adapted to respond to changing contexts and needs.

Table 4. Radically Caring Engaged Scholarship

RCES involves:	Institutional Structures & Cultures Needed to Support RCES:

- Includes teaching, research, and/or the 'civic' (service) (like in CS1)
- Emotions & care in process & relationships are: (made) visible, recognised, maintained, & valued
- Caring for self in order to be able to care for others = key
- Time is recognised as a critical component
   - Partnerships, not projects → long-term partnerships - "we want a relationship, not an affair" (CS1 resident)
- Professional & personal 'boundaries' are blurred
   - About sharing own vulnerabilities & power
   - Often not possible or desirable to have this 'boundary'
- Rooted in the community & responsive to local issues/challenges
- Challenges power and structural forms of oppression in/out of uni
   - Challenges/questions neoliberal university practices & principles
- Engages 'meaningfully' (Wood et al. 2020) w/ppl on the margins = questioning & striving to make a difference in neighbouring communities & to the lives of individuals living in them
	- The essential role of 'the relational' (relationships, care, emotions & emotional labour) is recognised and valued - especially in the context of CUPs
	- Time is given to CUPs and/or engaged academics (in WAMs, funding bids, etc.) for:
	   - Relationship building, managing, & sustaining
	   - Self-care
	   - Thinking, writing, collaborating, etc.
	   - Partnerships and not just Projects → long-term relationships with local communities are valued & supported
	- Institutional Ethics:
	   - ownership of data and outputs is discussed and shared wherever possible, outputs
	   - ethics processes are more conducive to PAR-type of research and more
	   - typical academic processes (like publishing) are altered when possible
	
	- Criteria & evaluation methods of CUPs recognise/value:
	   - Different kinds of 'impacts' & outcomes, including the 'soft stuff' (ie. increased confidence, feeling happier and valued, etc.)
	   - Different kinds of outputs including - co-produced reports (like in CS2),
	   - The time that it takes to see impacts/change from community-based engagement - longitudinal impacts valued and 'tracked'
	   - The voices of those directly involved - especially resident participants and engaged academics

- 'Authentic partnerships' - draw on existing knowledge and respect the knowledge and skills on both sides of the partnership (Allahwala et al. 2013)
    - Knowledge and knowledge holders are everywhere - inside & out of HE
- Embraces participatory and activist approaches and values including:
    - Reciprocity, mutual benefit, co-production
- 'Success' and 'excellence' - from the Puawai collective (2019) doing differently = doing well, well = health & wellbeing (EoC+SS) + excellence (commitment to work), BUT in this framework - 'excellence' doesn't only refer to academic work - but also to caring
    - 'excellence' can include care, instead of its current common conceptualisation that only refers to rigour in research/academic 'work' - as though they are mutually exclusive
- Engaged academics (and all university staff) have a healthy work-life balance and are able to thrive, and not just survive
- Local communities (including those in more 'deprived areas' feel connected to and that they benefit from their local university
- Local people feel able to make demands of their local university

- How difficult it is to capture & evaluate the non-easily quantifiable impacts, and has a way of incorporating/valuing these impacts
- Promotions and performance reviews recognise & value eng. scholarship and its non-traditional outputs
    - ie. can be promoted based on engagement (involved in engaged scholarship)
    - Non-traditional outputs such as co-produced reports (as in Case Study 2) 'count' as research outputs in promotions, performance reviews, and the REF
- RCES is valued and supported (especially by departmental managers), even when it isn't a REF impact case study
- Local community engagement is an institutional priority (Northmore and Hart 2011)
- Funding/resources/support for engaged scholarship/CUPs is appropriate, sufficient, & CORE funded → this ensures continuity and continued engagement w/communities over time, even if leadership or institutional priorities change
    - This could include resourcing a staff team (like in CS1)
- Pay and procurement systems are simplified and adapted to be able to pay non-contracted staff (like the CRs) & use small local businesses more easily
- Support/pastoral care is given to engaged academics → this could form part of the ethics review/application
- 'Success' - measures of success for CUPs (and the department/university's community engagement) are co-produced with residents & other stakeholders
- There is a designated staffed and resourced hub/space where people from outside the university, especially local residents and smaller organisations or community

	groups, can connect with the university to ask questions, make requests for partnership working, etc. (CUPP in Brighton is a good example of this)

7.3. Limitations of this study and future directions for research

This is a small-scale study that looked at a particular kind of CUP - long-term and community-based, and focused on particular aspects - the relationships and experiences of those involved, in two universities in the UK context. I was limited by the fact that I didn't live in or near either case study location, and therefore wasn't able to spend long periods of time in these sites getting to know the universities, communities, and participants at much deeper levels. There is a lot of scope for further research in this area, including larger and longer studies that could map the different kinds of engagement happening in universities in different countries, where it sits within institutions, and how participants feel about it. Future research would benefit from a PAR approach (which as I mentioned, informed this study, but I was not able to conduct my research in a participatory way) and needs to prioritise and highlight the voices of individual resident and academic participants, as opposed to university engagement leads or civic leaders, etc., as is more commonly found in the literature and on university webpages. In addition to this more general mapping work which would hopefully bring the sector closer to having a shared understanding of terms like 'civic engagement', CUPs, 'impact', 'community engagement', etc., my work suggests that more research needs to be conducted into the devaluing of care in the academy and how/where university leaders see community-based engaged scholarship and CUPs fitting within the current metrics-based HE system. Hopefully this would help to shed light on how CUPs are perceived across the institution, as well

as providing a more solid starting point for challenging the civic rhetoric, and asking those in positions of power to critically reflect on their institutional priorities, cultures, and structures and whether they are doing what they set out to do.

7.4.   Final Thoughts

In recent years UK universities have been more and more insistent that they are committed to their civic roles and that impact and engagement are institutional priorities - things that on principle, I am all for. But as this thesis has illustrated, whilst this institutional rhetoric abounds, there remains ambiguity around what civic, impact, and engagement activities entail and where engaged scholarship activities including CUPs, sit within university frameworks. More importantly, whilst universities benefit from the CUPs taking place in their institutions, they appear to largely not understand or value what these partnerships entail - especially in terms of the time-intensive relational aspects. I argue that this is symptomatic of the devaluing of care within HE cultures and structures that prioritise more profitable fast scholarship and reputation-boosting (in their eyes) 'global' research.

But what if university leaders started to 'count' differently, as has been suggested by radical geographers? What if instead of "paying lip service to engagement", a quote from one engaged academic I interviewed, universities could become known for their 'excellence in caring' and their impact at very local levels (in addition to wider societal levels)? My case studies and the CUPs I have been involved in or engaged with highlight the power of this kind of 'care-full' scholarship for all those involved and how beneficial and transformative they can be. The residents, academics, and students in these CUPs are inspiring and reminded me why this kind of scholarship matters, and how vital care and emotional connections

are in not just social justice work, but in everything that we do. I was also struck by how at the same time, some of these engaged academics were literally at the end of their tether, overwhelmed to the point of illness and contemplating what they could drop in the hopes that they could keep doing their work with their community partners.

In HE, it comes down to what (and who) is valued and to what ends. If universities adopted more 'care-full' values and principles that they then used to inform their institutional priorities, structures, and cultures, could engaged academics be supported to thrive and not merely survive? Could long-term, *resourced* CUPs working with resident and student participants on truly impactful work be the norm?

The answer is yes. But the changes needed for this shift in culture and structures are considerable, but not insurmountable. If universities want to avoid being accused of 'civic washing' (Grant 2022), then they need to become more caring institutions in actions, and not just words.

I end with the voices of the very generous people who took part in my research, whose words remind us why this stuff matters (and why I've written alllll of these words).

"the things I've done as a researcher have surprised even myself" (resident participant)

"[being a community researcher has] opened up the world for me and encouraged me to give things a go that I might not have done before" (resident participant)

"you realise that you're not a single voice, you're a part of a community" (resident participant)

"I feel the university is like my friend now to be honest. It's mainly because of the relationships it's built. You know it's not actually the university, it's the individuals who are involved with it who have made the difference" (resident participant)

"[incorporating working with TP and the community into my teaching has] enabled me to be a lot more innovative and actually challenge the way I do things" (engaged academic)

"This [project] is really having a proper impact on people and their businesses and their lives and making a community better" (engaged academic)

"I think the biggest change in terms of my practice and how we approach a project [with the community] is just the longevity of it. And I think that's the thing that's made it work because it's just let us get to know people as friends" (engaged academic)

"we need to do stuff like this otherwise we're not going to change anything. And then what's the point of being an academic, you know what's the point of having my job if I can't make some kind of difference outside of this campus? And that's not a journal article, I don't see that as my ultimate goal in life – much as the REF would have me believe otherwise. I honestly believe in it, I think it's worthwhile, and I think it makes a difference" (engaged academic)

Appendices

Appendix 1 - PP Slides of Current HE Landscape and an Overview of the Thesis

Background - the big picture

Contemporary HE Landscape

Societal Level
- Role & purpose of HE hotly debated against backdrop of increased tuition, social inequality, Brexit, austerity, COVID, & the war in Ukraine...
- Universities need to demonstrate their value and relevance to society
- Skepticism of 'experts'

Institutional Level
- Loss of block grant
- Competition for students, research grants, prestige, etc. - rankings
- Profit-driven
- Dominated by increased managerialism, audit culture, 'fast-scholarship'
- REF/TEF/KEF (standardisations, narrow metrics, evaluation tools)
- Emerging discourses of engagement (e.g. civic, impact & engagement agendas)
- CUPs sometimes used to evidence universities' civic duties/impact/engagement

Individual Academic Level
- Increased workloads
- 'Publish or perish' → competition
- Increased illnesses due to stress
- Difficult to work collegiately due to competitive environment
- Short-term contracts
- Community-based work under-valued & under supported as doesn't fit well in the business model

The Guardian
News Opinion Sport Culture Lifestyle

Universities should benefit the public, not just the public purse

Joshua Forstenzer and Matthew Flinders

THE CONVERSATION

Get emails with facts, not spin.

The impact of impact on the REF

December 18, 2014 12.10am GMT

Anthony Kelly, University of Southampton

A little bit of impact goes a long way. Chones

THE

Call for £500 million fund to boost UK universities' civic role

Dozens of universities are already interested in striking 'civic university agreements' proposed by commission

February 12, 2019

By John Morgan

Twitter: @johncmorgan3

THE

It's now or never for universities to be civic

Universities are facing immediate challenges, but they'd be short-sighted to not prioritise civic activity, says Richard Calvert

March 29, 2020

Richard Calvert

Source: istock

Just 12 months ago the idea of universities supporting their local communities – "being civic" – seemed eminently sensible. It is now critical.

In February 2019, Sheffield Hallam University – like many other institutions – signed up to putting in place a Civic University Agreement, a pledge that committed us to prioritise the economy and quality of life in our city and region. This challenge, laid down by the UPP Foundation Civic University Commission, called on universities to reshape their role and responsibilities to support their local communities.

Debates re quantity vs. quality

THE CONVERSATION

Capitalist creep on campus: the largest, quietest privatisation in UK history – it's why we're striking

The gradual withdrawal of state support for universities has been the largest, and quietest, privatisation in UK history, and most people don't even know about it.

By Martin Parker (Professor of Organisation Studies, University of Bristol)
November 26, 2019 at 4:45 AM · 3 MIN READ

Overworked and isolated – work pressure fuels mental illness in academia

Exclusive: Guardian survey shows heavy workloads to blame for mental health problems among academics

● **We don't want anyone to know, say depressed academics**
● **View the findings in full: a survey of mental health in academia**

Claire Shaw
🐦 @clurshaw ✉ Email
Thu 8 May 2014 07.30 BST

UK university staff 'mental health crisis not getting better'

New figures in Hepi report show continued rise in counselling service referrals, with warnings of further impact from pandemic crisis

April 30, 2020

Anna McKie

Twitter: @annamckie

Focus of This Research

- Community-university partnerships (CUPs) at the local level

- Can take many forms; engaged research, live teaching, volunteering, community activities
- Projects can be community, university, or student led, and vary in ambitions and duration
- Particular focus on the role of relationships, care, emotions & emotional labour, and the temporal aspects involved in CUPs

- How CUPs are experienced by the participants

- Resident participants, university participants (academics, project staff, and students to a small extent)
- Focus on their lived experiences

- How CUPs & the participants are impacted by HE structures & cultures

- The alternative visions that an EoC and SS offers

Terms

Engaged academic: works with and in (local) communities on mutually-beneficial projects (through research, teaching, and/or civic projects)

Neoliberal university: refers to the current corporatised HE landscape in England/Wales where universities use metric-based accounting regimes that; demand more in less time, prioritise/value quantifiable outputs ('if it can't be counted it doesn't count'), competition = key, value-for-money = criteria

Engaged scholarship: engaged scholarship is defined as including engaged teaching, engaged research, and engaged service (Boyer 1996) and commonly has values that include social justice and citizenship, as well as core principles of high-quality scholarship and reciprocity (Beaulieu et al. 2018)

This Thesis...

Methods

Qualitative mixed-methods

- Combined ethnographic & traditional methods
- Informed by Participatory Action Research (PAR)
- Reflective & reflexive, friendship, caring approach
- Focus on privileging the voices of the participants
- Thematic analysis

2 Case Studies in Southern UK

- Community-based long-term partnerships in 1 medium & 1 larger university

My Lens

Ethics of Care (EoC)

- Feminist ethic & a way of critiquing & resisting the contemporary neoliberal university
- Interdependence and relationality = key to human experience (Bartos 2019)
- Caring relations & care work = a social need, not an individual one
- Emotions central to human relations
- Nature of work is embodied (Puawai Collective 2019)
- Values different kinds of labour, knowledge & experiences
- Engaging meaningfully with people on the margins (Wood et al. 2020)

Slow Scholarship (SS)

- = a movement connected to an EoC
- Challenges & critiques HE temporal regimes & the audit culture and their impacts (Halberstam 2011; Meyerhoff et al. 2011)
- = a commitment to good research, teaching, & service AND to a "collective feminist EoC that challenges accelerated time and elitism of the neoliberal university" (Mountz et al. 2015, p. 1237)

RESIST

SLOW DOWN

Appendix 2 - Participant-Type Codes and Named Participant List

Participant Codes Explained		
Those who took part in my research and are named in this thesis have been given a code. Some have more than one code - for example, a 'Professional' could also be a 'Resident' - P, R.		
Code	**Stands For**	**Meaning**
P	Professional	Someone who works as a professional - for example as Council staff, artists, community organisation staff, etc.. They are not university staff or speaking to me in the capacity of a resident (if they also live in the area of the case study)
S	Student	University students involved in the CUP
A	Academic / university staff	Academics and university staff are included because not all of the university-paid participants were academics - some were professional services staff or other types of staff paid by the university
R	Resident	Someone living in the Case Study area who isn't formally part of a CUP
RP	Resident Participant	A local resident who also participates in a CUP
CR* (Case Study 2 only)	Community Researcher	Local residents participating in a CUP as community researchers *(*they have been given this code instead of RP because 'community researcher' is how they refer to themselves, therefore I wanted to honour this)*

Pseudonym List (of participants named in the thesis) and Their Participant Code		
Case Study 1 (Pink University)		
Pseudonym	**Participant Code**	**Other Information**
Sinead	A	Academic lead of Team Pink (TP). She was also a resident of Milton in the beginning of the partnership.
Rob	R, P	Local resident and artist
Bethan	A	University staff - TP project manager
Asad	A	University staff - TP partnerships manager (and a local resident of Milton)
Olivia	A	University staff - TP communications officer
Patty	RP	A resident involved with TP
Basam	RP	A resident involved with TP
Delilah	R	A resident involved with TP
Lowri	A	An academic involved with TP
Laura	A	Academic involved with TP
Ida	S	University student involved with TP

Case Study 2 (Blue University)		
Liz	A	Lead academic in the Sparrow Researchers (SPARs) project
Jack	A, P	University-paid (eventually…but not full employee) - was a community development professional and a key part of the SPARs project
Colleen	CR	Community researcher and resident
Jenna	CR	Community researcher and resident
Avery	CR	Community researcher and resident
Lesley	A	A research assistant who works part-time on SPARs
Nancy	A	University staff - impact officer
Ceri	S	University student, UROP intern
Kenneth	P	Council officer
Tracey	P	Sparrow Community Development Trust manager

Appendix 3 - Interview Questions

For Residents

Background
1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself? (did you go to uni, have you ever done anything with/in the uni?)

Project
2. Can you tell me a bit about the project you're involved in?
    2.1. What is its aim/purpose?
3. How & why did you get involved?
4. (If they've never participated in anything connected to the uni) How did you get past that barrier? What brought you out of your everyday life to get involved with something like this?

Experience
5. How have you found the experience? Was it what you expected? Why/why not?
6. What have you liked about participating in the project? Can you give me an example?
7. What have you found more difficult or frustrating about participating in the project? Example?
8. How have you found working with the university (students and academics)?
9. What have you learned or gained from participating in the project?

Impact

Framing: I view this kind of project as being where everyone brings their own knowledge and we learn together-
10. How do you view this kind of project?
11. Do you feel like participating in the project has **impacted** your life? Yes/no, how/why/why not?
12. Do you feel like participating in the project has impacted your day-to-day life at all (for example, how you view the world or yourself, confidence, problem solving skills, ? If yes, how?)
13. Do you know if the university or department use this project to demonstrate impact? If so, how?
14. Do you think there's a difference between how the participants, including yourself, of the projects experience it, and how the university portrays the project?
15. Do you know anyone who live outside of the project area who knows about the project? How they feel about it? Do they feel

left out?

Perceptions of the University
16. What did you think the role/purpose of the university was before you started participating in this project?
    16.1. who is the university for
    16.2. what's it for?
    16.3. What has it ever done for me?
17. Did you think that the university had a role to play with/in its community?
18. How do you view the university's role/purpose now (after participating in a CUP)?
19. How do you view the university's role within its community now?

Perceptions of knowledge and the community
20. Before starting this project, where did you think you gained knowledge? Where did you learn and who did you learn from?
    20.1. Has this view changed at all since this project?

For Academics
Background
1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself?
2. How & why did you get involved?

Project
3. Can you tell me a bit about the project you're involved in?
    3.1. What is its aim/purpose?
    3.2. How long it's been running?
4. How is it funded and what staff resources does it now have?
    4.1. Was the funding hard/easy to come by? Why?
    4.2. Has this changed over time?
5. How do you demonstrate 'impact', outputs, outcomes?
6. How do you deal with the timing issue (that change takes time)?

Challenges from the Community

   7.   How do you get new people involved and not just the 'usual suspects'?

   8.   How are residents responding to CUPs?

   9.   How do you get people involved who aren't able to meet their basic needs? Why would they get involved

Challenges from Students

10.   What has there response been?

11.   What challenges/benefits have you experienced with the students?

Pedagogies

12.   What kind of *pedagogies* are used or emerge in the project?

Experience

13.   How have you found the **experience**? Was it what you expected? Why/why not?

14.   What have you liked about participating in the project?

15.   What have you found more difficult or frustrating about participating in the project?

16.   How have you found working with the community (residents and students)?

17.   What have you learned or gained from participating in the project?

Impact

Framing: I view this kind of project as being where everyone brings their own knowledge and we learn together-

18.   How do you view this kind of project?

19.   Do you feel like participating in the project has *impacted* your life? Yes/no, how/why/why not?

20.   Do you feel like participating in the project has impacted your day-to-day life at all? If yes, how?

21.   Does the university or department use this project to demonstrate impact? If so, how?

22.   Do you think there's a difference between how the participants, including yourself, of the projects experience it, and how the university portrays the project?

23.   Do you think there is the difference between impact in terms of the REF, and impact in terms of on-the-ground?

Perceptions of the University
24.	In general, what did you think the role/purpose of the university was before you started participating in this project?
	24.1.	who is the university for
	24.2.	what's it for?
	24.3.	What has it ever done for me?
25.	Did you think that the university had a role to play with/in its community (not just economically)?
26.	How do you view the university's role/purpose in general now (after participating in a CUP)?
27.	How do you view the university's role within its community now?

Perceptions of knowledge and the community
28.	Before starting this project, where did you think you gained knowledge? Where did you learn and who did you learn from?
	28.1.	Has this view changed at all since this project?

Appendix 4 - Data Analysis Codes

Research Questions Codes
- **Exp --** Stakeholder's Experience (including impact)
- **Per --** Perception of the University
- **RvR --** Reality vs. Rhetoric
- **Ped --** Pedagogy (also a theory)

Descriptors
- **ChBa --** Challenges/barriers
- **B --** Background (of individual or project)
- **O --** Outcomes/Outputs
- **InS --** Institutional Support level

Themes
- **T --** Time (can relate to Slow Scholarship Theory)
- **WB --** Wellbeing- how one feels (ethic of care)
- **Exmt --** Experimentation (organic dev. → in practice, pedagogy)
- **Doc --** the Documenting or Evidencing of 'impact' or of the project in general (Neoliberal uni)
- **Ki --** Key Individual
- **FO --** (in)Formality
- **Kn --** Knowledge production/exchange/absorption
- **Neo --** Neoliberalism
- **F --** Funding/finances/£
- Po -- Power
- Ci -- Civic
- **Sp --** Space/Place

Theories
- **CoP --** Community of practice

- **CoCa --** Compassion/Caring (actions, outlook → ethic of care)
- **Ped --** Critical Pedagogy/Experiential Learning

Appendix 5 - Participant Information Sheet

A Community-University projects, impact, and change
Information Sheet

You are invited to take part in a research project taking place over the next 6 months.

What is happening?
The researcher, Marion, is interested in finding out more about community-university projects and how the participants experience them.

The research will explore the following sorts of questions:
- How does the participating university talk about the project in question?
- What is it like taking part in a community-university project as a local resident, student, or academic? Has it changed your day-to-day life at all? What have you learned?
- What kind of learning and teaching does this kind of project use?

Why?
There are many community-university projects around the country, but not a lot of research on their impact and how these projects are experienced by the local people taking part. The purpose of this project is to help universities and communities better understand this experience, as well as to explore whether there is a gap between how the university talks about these projects, and how the participants experience them. There will be no immediate benefits or disadvantages to you if you take part.

What do I have to do?
Just go along with your day as you normally would.

Marion will be spending time at various community-university projects as they are happening. She will be observing, and sometimes participating as well. If you are interested, Marion might ask you if you'd like to be interviewed (you are free to say no). This could be done whilst taking part in the project, or over a cuppa.

In instances where Marion is working with a project over a longer period of time, she may suggest that the group produce something together- something that could be useful for future community-university projects. This could take many different forms, It's up to you!

Marion will collect information by observing what is happening and taking notes of her observations and participation. The information collected will help to answer the questions above. It will be written up and published in a research report (thesis) and may also be published in articles or other forms (for example blogs, exhibitions, digital information sharing, books) to enable others to learn about what the research has found.

It is possible that the information and ideas from this research may be part of further research in the future.

All information collected will be kept strictly confidential and made anonymous (unless you choose to be identified), so that any individuals who take part cannot be identified.

Why are you telling me this? This form is to tell you about the research and ask if you want to take part. If you decide to take part now, you can change your mind and stop at any time.

Who is responsible for this?
Marion Oveson is responsible for this work and it is part of her research for her PhD at the University of Sheffield.

You can contact Marion:
        Text or phone- 07593 263 553,
        Email: m.a.oveson@sheffield.ac.uk

Marion is managed by Lee Crookes from the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the University of Sheffield.

If I have questions or problems, who can I talk to?

If you have concerns or questions you want to ask someone at the University you can contact Lee:
l.crookes@sheffield.ac.uk

Appendix 6 - Participant Consent Form

Consent Form

Please read the statements below and tick if you agree	**Please tick** ✔
I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet and I have had opportunity to ask questions about the project	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences	
I choose to be anonymous, which means I will not be identified or identifiable in any reports that result from the research **OR** I choose to be identified, which means my name or organisation would be named, and would not be anonymised on the various research outputs - papers, posters, talks etc.	_____
I agree to respect the privacy of my fellow project participants and the confidentiality of the project I am involved in	

I agree for the anonymised information (data) that includes me to be used in future research	
I agree to take part in this research project	

Name (please print)

_____

Date _____

Signature _____

Name of person taking consent   _____

Date _____

Signature _____

Participant Identification Number for this project:

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